

SACRIFICE IN THE BRĀHMANA-TEXTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

(a) Nature and scope :

In this thesis entitled "Sacrifice in the Brāhmaṇa-texts" an attempt is made to study the sacrifice in general according to Brāhmaṇa-texts. Even though sometimes some individual sacrifices are considered, it is for the sake of understanding some general characteristics of the sacrifice. Here the study is limited to the sources known as the Brāhmaṇa-texts only and even though occasionally for either supporting any of the arguments or for comparison and contrasts etc. other vedic and non-vedic texts or writings of modern scholars are mentioned or quoted, the main source of this study, of course, is the Brāhmaṇa-texts.

Sacrifice before the Brāhmaṇa-texts :

In the Ṛgveda there are various sūktas which, according to the later vedic ritual, are texts to be used in the ritual. It is, however, a problem whether these hymns were originally intended for the ritual, created for the ritual and by ritualists or by the poets and as poems. Ad. Kaegi says about the hymns in the Ṛgveda that most of the songs in the Ṛgveda are invocations and glorifications of the deities and their key-note is throughout a simple outpouring of the

heart "... dem Drang seines Herzens will der S nger beredten Ausdruck geben". He sees in the hymns a fresh breath of vigorous primival poetry.¹ Thus Kaegi lays emphasis on the poetical aspects of the Rgveda. Oldenberg, on the contrary, sees ritualism in the Rgveda. According to him the hymns in the Rgveda are sacrificial songs, litanies. The singers of the Rgveda do not want to tell about the God but to praise him. "Eine poesie diser Art konnte nur in den abgeschlossenen Kreisen priesterlicher opfertechniker entstehen".² Winternitz, being aware of both these extremes, tries to strike the golden mean, by pointing out that there are earlier and later portions in the Rgveda and further that even the contents of the hymns are different and their origin is also different from each other. There are some hymns in the Rgveda which did not originate in the sacrificial circle and there are others which are definitely connected with the ritual.³ So it cannot be denied that the Rgveda, if not wholly, at least to a considerable degree, is concerned with the ritual.

1 Kaegi, Der Rgveda, die  lteste Litteratur der Inder (2nd Edition) Leipzig, 1881 (quoted by Winternitz, GIL p.64 HIL p.62f.)

2 Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p.3f.

3 Winternitz, GIL p.65f; (HIL, p.63f).

Certainly the R̥gveda is not a treatise containing a detailed treatment of the sacrifice and we cannot get therein any direct idea about the sacrifice. From the scattered material on the subject of the sacrifice in the R̥gveda we have to draw a picture of the sacrifice in the R̥gveda; and Hillebrandt⁴ and in details Potdar⁵ have made considerable efforts to study the sacrifice in the R̥gveda. In the R̥gveda there are many ritual words such as yajña, sunvat, pacat, śamsat, śasāmāna, ījāna, stuvat, etc. which show the sacrificial duties and also refer to the priests who used to perform them. Similarly the Vedī, grahas, dakṣiṇās, pressing of the soma etc. are mentioned. The sacrifice is variously called yajña, adhvara, vidatha, etc. R̥gveda X.52.4 and X.124.1 describe the sacrifice as being pañcayāma, trivṛt and saptatantu. The word pañcayāma can be connected with the word pāṅkta (fivefold) very often met with in the Brāhmaṇa-texts. The words trivṛt and saptatantu directly refer to the classification of the sacrifices. Thus as is explained in the GB.V.5.23 and 25, there are three classes of sacrifice and in each class there are seven sacrifices. GB.I.5.25

4 Hillebrandt, Rituallitteratur, p.11ff.

5 Potdar, Sacrifice in the R̥gveda.

names the three classes as *sutyā*, *pākyajñas*, and *haviryajñas*; and GB.I.5.23 enumerates the seven sacrifices in each class (for details see further under the classification of the sacrifices). Thus the *Ṛgveda* seems to know all the principal twentyone basic sacrifices and it is not difficult that many other sacrifices, if not in the same form and with the same details, but at least to a considerable similarity or sameness might have been in existence in the *Ṛgveda*-period. Thus we can say that the *Ṛgveda* knows very elaborate ritual.⁶ Of course, the ritual was growing even in the *Ṛgveda*-period and in the later periods also. The *Yajurveda-saṁhitā*s and the *Sāmaveda-saṁhitā*s are more directly connected with the ritual and show more grown ritual.⁷ The growth of ritual is particularly seen in the *Brāhmaṇa*-texts,⁸ and in the *sūtra*-texts further efforts are seen mainly in connection with the arrangement of the ritual rather than any other additions to it. For the study of the sacrifice and its growth etc., therefore, the *Brāhmaṇa*-texts are more interesting than any other kind of texts.

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- 6 Haug, The Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa of the Ṛgveda, p.7ff;
Bloomfield, The Religion of the Veda, p.31; Hillebrandt,
Ritual literature p.1; Keith, RPV, p.16.
- 7 Winternitz, GIL, p.138f; (HIL p.138f).
- 8 Potdar, Sacrifice in the Ṛgveda, p.2.

The point of view in this thesis :

While studying the Brāhmaṇa-texts Max Müller was very much disappointed as regards their literary merits. His criticism of the Brāhmaṇa-texts is very interesting. "No one would have supposed that at so early a period, and in so primitive a state of society, there could have risen up a literature which for pedantry and down-right absurdity can hardly be matched anywhere. There is no lack of striking thoughts, of bold expressions, of sound reasoning and curious traditions in these collections. But these are only like the fragments of a torso ... The general character of these works is marked by shallow and insipid grandiloquence by priestly conceit, and antiquarian pedantry. It is most important to a historian that he should know how soon the fresh and healthy growth of a nation can be blighted by priestcraft and superstition ... These works deserve to be studied as the physician studies the twaddle of idiots and the raving of mad men ...".⁹ It is clear that the Brāhmaṇa-texts are not the literary works as such and there is no wonder that Max Müller was disappointed when he looked at them from this point of view. The Brāhmaṇa-texts in any case

9 Max Müller, HASL, p.352f.

are not to be studied from our modern point of view. That is bound to lead us to disappointment. The Brāhmaṇa-texts, as is mentioned by Max Müller¹⁰ also, are meant for describing and explaining the sacrifices. They represent as Winternitz rightly says the "science of sacrifice",¹¹ in their own way. The logic pertaining to this science is a mysterious one. The Brāhmaṇa-texts, if seen from our point of view are, as Oldenberg has already aptly described "prescientific science" (vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft).¹² In this case our attitude towards these texts should not be merely literary. In fact it should be radically different from it. We must first try to understand what is said in the Brāhmaṇa-texts, try to collect similar ideas together and try to give as far as possible a faithful picture of any matter we are studying on the basis of the material thus put together.

More than seventy years ago was published S. Lévi's

10 Max Müller, HASL, p.388.

11 Winternitz, GIL p.165 (HIL p.165).

12 These words are included in the very title page of the Oldenberg's work, Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇa-texte.

very important book - La doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brāhmaṇas. Lévi in that book has tried to give a constructive exposition of the various thoughts about the sacrifice in general, scattered in the Brāhmaṇas. H. Oldenberg in his Die Weltaanschauung der Brāhmaṇa-texte has given in an authoritative way a constructive survey of the philosophy of the Brāhmaṇa-texts in general. These two books have very ably shown in what way the Brāhmaṇa-texts are to be studied from the point of view of religion, philosophy, etc. In these works an effort is made to get interested in the Brāhmaṇa-texts and understand them as deeply as possible. We cannot and should not underrate a work because it is illogical, abnormal and "twaddle"-like, unless we dive quite deep in it and make strenuous efforts to understand it. Even though there was rather a kind of general ridicule and negligence towards the study of the Brāhmaṇas, these two works made it clear how the study of the Brāhmaṇa-texts is important and fruitful if done in all seriousness.

As far as the ritual in the Brāhmaṇa-texts is concerned the work of Lévi is very important and instructive. He has collected the scattered data about the sacrifice in general in the Brāhmaṇas (except the JB which is of great importance) and the Brāhmaṇa-portions of the Yajurveda saṁhitās, without taking any help of non-brahmanical texts and also of the

any other literature either ancient or modern, belonging to other religions. Lévi has discovered some of the very essential characteristics of the sacrifice in the Brāhmaṇas. Thus his observations on the relations of the Gods and sacrifice or Prajāpati and sacrifice are mostly acceptable. He has discovered and maintained along with the numerous examples of directly quoted texts side by side with their french translations, many theories underlying sacrificial performance according to the Brāhmaṇa-texts. Thus, for example, Lévi has maintained the theories of sacrifice containing an idea of ṛṇa (debt) or that of generation.

Lévi had, however, limited himself to the doctrine of the sacrifice only. The Brāhmaṇa-texts give us many ideas about the sacrifice in general in other respects also. Thus the material supplied by the Brāhmaṇa-texts about the origin of the sacrifice, its growth, vicissitudes, differences of opinions and practices, the performers (the sacrificer, his wife and the priests) some ancillary rites such as dīkṣā, prāyaścitti, dakṣiṇā, etc. the result of the sacrifice, the philosophical speculations in connection with the ritual, was not taken into consideration directly in details by Lévi. In the following pages an attempt is made to study these topics on the basis of the Brāhmaṇa-texts.

Even though the importance of the Brāhmaṇa-texts for the religious history of India has been generally accepted, some times disregard or rather distrust for the explanations given by the Brāhmaṇa-texts is seen lurking in the minds of some scholars. Thus, for example, Keith is not willing to *accept* the explanation of Pravagrya as "divine pairing (deva-mithuna)" given by AB.I.²²~~140~~ because the mantras do not contain any word meaning that. Then he expresses his opinion about the explanations of the Brāhmaṇa-texts in the following words - "... the explanations of the Brāhmaṇa-texts are always to be taken with utmost care".¹³ It is now obvious that Keith's argument about the Pravargya is based on silence of the mantras about the devamithuna significance of the pravargya. It is true that the Brāhmaṇa-texts embellish to a considerable extent the original significance of any rite and it becomes often difficult to understand what exactly is the "original" significance, of a rite. The Brāhmaṇa-texts, nevertheless, allow many traces of the likely original or at least the "main" significance of any rite and among the explanations given by the Brāhmaṇa-texts it is likely that someone may be genuine, original, etc. So the explanations given by the Brāhmaṇa-texts if studied seriously can throw a good light

13 Keith, RPV, p.333.

upon how the vedic persons understood the ritual. In describing the importance of the Brāhmaṇa-texts Max Müller has said, "It is true that the ceremonial, the vidhis can be better studied in the sūtras, but if we want to know what meaning was assigned to every act of the sacrifice, such as it had been handed down and become fixed in the Brāhmaṇic society of India, long before the composition of any Brāhmaṇa, we must consult these works. Though their professed object is to teach sacrifice they allow a much larger space to dogmatical, exegetical, mystical and philosophical speculations, than to the ceremonial itself."¹⁴ Winternitz has also said, "The Brāhmaṇas are as invaluable authorities to the student of religion, for the history of sacrifice and of priesthood as the saṁhitās of the Yajurveda are for the history of prayer".¹⁵ In the following pages an attempt is made to study the sacrifice in the Brāhmaṇa-texts fully assuming this importance of the Brāhmaṇa-texts. The Brāhmaṇa-texts, as we know, give ample explanation of the various rites they describe.¹⁶ For a proper understanding of the vedic ritual as the vedic persons understood it the best help

14 Max Müller, HASL, p.388.

15 Winternitz, HIL p.164 (GIL p.164).

16 Cp. Heesterman, Consecration, p.5.

can be derived from the vedic texts and particularly from the Brāhmaṇa-texts which are professedly meant for explaining the ritual. So in this thesis the explanations of the Brāhmaṇa-texts have been studied with due emphasis, and the observations of modern scholars have not been neglected.

As has been said above the Brāhmaṇa-texts are "pre-scientific science", we have never, therefore, taken for granted that in the Brāhmaṇa-texts there is any consistent or particular view point about any sacrificial rite or a sacrifice or the sacrifice in general. We have merely mentioned the possibility of any significance being original or main and mentioned other significances also. The Brāhmaṇa-texts show "plurality" of view points. They never say that this alone is the significance of a particular action or this action alone will lead to this particular result. In fact, according to the Brāhmanical way of thinking practically any action in the ritual is potent enough to give any result. Of course, we need not trouble ourselves by finding out the significances which are not directly mentioned by the Brāhmaṇa-texts; but the way of their thinking allows any significance of any action. Therefore, for example, to say that the main significance of the Vājapeya is connected with fertility is to state only the 'main' significance according to our observations in the Brāhmaṇa-texts. The Brāhmaṇa-texts

have connected the Vājapeya with such results as obtaining Prajāpati, heaven, autocracy and supremacy, women (in the next world), all speeches, Brahnavarcasa- nay even 'all' (see the section on the Vājapeya). Thus according to the Brāhmaṇa-texts, there are many significances of a single action. To try, therefore, to find only one particular significance of a rite in the Brāhmaṇa-texts will, I think, amount to imposing our own theory on the Brāhmaṇa-texts. According to the Brāhmaṇa-texts anything can be connected with anything else; anything can result from anything; everything is all. This principle of the ritualism is at the basis of the 'spiritualism', the philosophy of the Brāhmaṇas and that is further developed in the Upaniṣadic way of thinking in which in spite of the later classical dualist thinkers, some stray, non-systematised currents of monism are found.

In this thesis an attempt is made to see everywhere the latent connections of the Brāhmanical 'ritualism' with the Upaniṣadic 'spiritualisms'. Even though the present day scholars¹⁷ do not generally see any exaggerated differences between the interests of the Brāhmaṇa-texts and the interests

17 Gonda Change and Continuity, p.243.

of the Upaniṣad-texts, there was a time when some indologists tried to explain the assumed revolution of the kṣatriya-class represented in the so-called anti-ritual philosophy of the Upaniṣads against the ritualism of the Brāhmaṇa-class represented in the Brāhmaṇa-texts. Even though all what they said was not completely imaginary or unsupported by any evidence, it was certainly not without exaggeration, devoid of over-enthusiasm for maintaining new theories.¹⁸ The later scholars have studied the philosophy of the Brāhmaṇa-texts and have shown to some extent the latent connections of the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. In this thesis, the same kind of effort has been made in the ritual context.

At the first sight a reader of the Brāhmaṇa-texts will find that the sacrifice according to the Brāhmaṇa-texts is an end in itself or a mechanism full of rigidity, dogmatism, minute rules etc. He will also feel that the sacrifice is a machine-like process and even the Gods are below the

18 For a short but effective discussion of the views of those who find revolution of the kṣatriyas, in the Upaniṣadic thoughts and an effort to find out golden mean see Winternitz, GIL, p.196ff (HIL, p.197ff).

sacrifice or even slaves of the magical power it has. He may further feel that the sacrificer is a puppet in the hands of the priests in whose hands the future - good or bad - depends; that the priests are greedy and, therefore, very attractive (e.g., cows, gold, women) dakṣiṇās are prescribed in the ritual; that the ritual sticks to the 'letter' of the rule, not caring for the 'spirit' of it; that according to the Brāhmaṇa-texts the sacrifice is a static phenomenon, without any change. In this thesis an attempt is made to find out how far these impressions at the first reading of the Brāhmaṇa-texts are correct and to try to show that practically all these impressions are what first impressions generally are known to be.

CHAPTER II

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE SACRIFICE ACCORDING TO THE BRĀHMAṆA-TEXTS

Introduction :

The Brāhmaṇa-texts in their own way, give the origin of a rite or a ritual detail they are describing. Sometimes they describe the origin of the sacrifice in general. The stories describing the origin of the sacrificial rites or sacrifice in general can throw light upon what the Brāhmaṇa-texts thought about the origin of the sacrifice.

Prajāpati 'saw' the sacrifice :

The most important source of the sacrifice according to the Brāhmaṇa-texts is Prajāpati.¹ Prajāpati is said to have discovered the sacrifice which is threefold and ^{with} ~~what~~ seven threads thus having twentyone forms (GBI.1.12). He then performed that sacrifice (GB I.1.13). He also saw many particular sacrifices. Thus the origin of Angihotra-offerings is told in the following manner - Prajāpati was alone. He wanted to create beings. He practised penance and created fire. But there was no food for the fire. Prajāpati was afraid that the fire would burn him. So he rubbed his hands

1 cf. Keith, RPV, p.455.

and produced ghee and milk. When he offered the offering into Agni, he was not satisfied. Then Prajāpati rubbed his hands again. Then he remained doubting whether to offer or not. His own mahimā (greatness) told him to offer. As his own (sva) greatness told (āha) he offered with the utterance svāhā. This is the origin of the Agnihotra-offerings, the material of the offerings in the Agnihotra and the sacred utterance, viz., svāhā which is to be uttered at the time of offering (ŚB II.2.4.1-6; TB II.1.2.1-3).

Prajāpati had various desires at different times and he got those desires fulfilled by seeing various sacrifices and performing them. Thus, for example, he desired to be many, to create and then he saw the sacrifice named Agniṣṭoma and having performed it he created the beings (TMB VI.1.1). Prajāpati desired to obtain Vāja (food, vigour, etc.) and to go to the heavenly world, and then he saw the Vājapeya (TMB XVIII.7.1). Prajāpati created the beings. The beings after being created, did not worship Prajāpati. He desired that they should worship him. He saw the sacrifice named Apaciti and by performing it, obtained the desired worship from the beings (JB II.1000).

Prajāpati also saw some other details of the sacrifice. Thus for example, after having created the beings he thought

himself milked out and emptied out. Then he saw the āprī verses as ājya-lauds and by means of them he gratified (āprīnāt) himself (TMB XV.8.2). Prajāpati created the beings. But those beings could not give birth to any being. Then Prajāpati saw the sāman named sākamaśva (TMB XX.4.5).

Prajāpati 'gave' the sacrifice :

Prajāpati not only saw the sacrifice or sacrifices and performed them, he also gave the sacrifice to the Gods. (e.g., SVB I.1.1.15; TMB VII.2.1). In ŚB V.1.1.1f; XI.1.8.1f we are told a story of Gods and Asuras struggling. The Asuras were proud and offered in their own mouth. But Gods offered in the mouth of each other. Then Prajāpati gave himself to them. The body itself of Prajāpati was the sacrifice. Elsewhere we are told a story of Prajāpati who was practising penance. At that time his glory (śrī) went away. Gods robbed the glory. She asked how to re-obtain what was robbed off. Prajāpati then told her to re-obtain from the Gods themselves and then she was able to see the offering Mitravindā (ŚB XI.4.3.1ff). Here then we know how the glory of Prajāpati was able to know the Mitravindā offering with the help of Prajāpati. When the Gods were passing upwards the heaven, the Asuras enveloped them in the darkness. The Gods entered upon a sacrificial session of a hundred Agniṣṭomas and could dispell the darkness as far as one may

see whilst sitting; but the entire darkness was not removed. They then went to Prajāpati and requested him to teach how by dispelling the Asuras and the darkness they would find the world of heaven. Prajāpati then taught them the sacrificial session and corrected their mistakes of a hundred Atirātras. The Gods could then repel the darkness and the Asuras and find the world of heaven (ŚB XI.5.5.1ff). Here Prajāpati is shown to be removing the mistakes and thus helping the performers. Prajāpati gave the sacrifice named Upahavya to Indra (TMB XVIII.1.9). Similarly he gave the Vratyastoma sacrifice to the divine vrātyas (JB II.221). Prajāpati gave the sāman named kāleya to the Gods (TMB VIII.3.1).

Sometimes Prajāpati is said to have given the sacrifices to the Gods but reserved some sacrifice for himself. Thus he gave all the sacrifices to the Gods but reserved Vājapeya for himself. The Gods then asked for some share in it. He then gave them the Ujjiti offerings (TB I.3.2.5-6). He is also said to have given all the sacrifices to them but reserved the Āsvamedha for himself. When the Gods asked for some share in it, he gave them the Annahomas (ŚB XIII.2.1.1). Here in these two examples, the origin of Ujjiti offerings and Annahomas is told chiefly and secondarily the origin of sacrifice in general is told and Prajāpati is told to have given the sacrifices. Though he first reserved the Vājapeya or the Āsvamedha he gave some share to Gods afterwards.

Indra 'gave' :

Indra has given or taught sacrificial rites. Thus Indra explained the stomabhāgas to Vasistha (TMB XV.5.24; TB II.2.13). He gave the knowledge of expiations to Vasistha (ŚB XII.6.1.38ff). He also taught the Uktha to Viśvāmitra (ṢaḍB I.5.1; cp. JUB III.4.1.1). He told brahman to Vasistha (ṢaḍB I.5.1; JUB III.4.1.2 says that Manu has told brahman to Vasistha).

The activity of Gods in general :

The Gods in general have tried very much in discovering the sacrifice. Gods and Asuras both of them sprung ^{from} Prajāpati were contending with each other. Both of them were soulless and mortal. Agni alone was immortal. The Gods went on praising and practising austerities hoping to overcome the Asuras. Then they saw the Agnyādheya (ŚB II.2.2.8-9). At another place it is told that the Gods and Asuras born of the same father, i.e., Prajāpati were struggling for obtaining the sacrifice. Then the Gods practised austerities and devised the Agniṣṭoma feast. By means of it they could remove all the Asuras and obtain the entire sacrifice (ŚB IV.2.4.11-12). In JB II.104 we are told that the Gods desiring to defeat the Asuras found out the Abhibhū sacrifice. JB II.158 gives the origin of the Ṛtapeya sacrifice. Food left the Gods. That food was identical with the soma-āhuti and virāj. They

practised penance and found out the Ṛtapeya sacrifice which was glorious (virāj).

Activity of individual Gods :

Individual gods are also described to have discovered some sacrificial rite. Indra at the beginning, when there was equality among all the beings, desired to be superior and saw the Ṣoḍaśi-graha and drew it for himself (ŚB IV.5.3.1-2). TMB XII.13.1 gives the story differently. "Indra and the Br̥hat came together. The Br̥hat surpassed Indra through one of its manifestations. Indra was afraid of this (manifestation), lest it (viz., the Br̥hat) should overcome him by means of it. He (Indra) said, "Let this be for thee the Ṣoḍaśin-soma-feast". It became the Ṣoḍaśin. TMB XIX.18.2 ascribes the origin of the first Vighana to Indra. Indra desired to kill the evil enemy and then having seen this sacrifice killed him. He also saw the Indrastoma sacrifice for getting supremacy at another time (JB II.139). Indra desirous of lustre (tejas) and desirous of energy (haras) saw the sāman called Harāyana (TMB XIV.9.34). Indra slew the son of Tvaṣṭṛ with three heads. An inauspicious voice addressed him. He resorted for help to Agni. This (God) saw this Agni-laud (Agnistotra) and having assigned it to himself he sacrificed with it on behalf of him (of Indra). By means of it, he drove away his inauspicious voice (TMB XVII.5.1). When there

was equality among the Gods Indra along with Agni and Sūrya desired to get supremacy and saw the Atigrāhya cups (ŚB IV. 5.4.1-2) and obtained it.

Tvaṣṭṛ is said to have beheld the Punarādheya (re-establishment)(ŚB II.2.3.4.). The All-Gods (Viśvedevāḥ) began to assign a cake to Heaven and Earth (ŚB II.4.3.8). Savitr̥ saw the Sāvitra libations in connection with the Agnicayana (ŚB VI.3.1.1).

Some sacrificial rites were added through some deity in order to remove some difficulty etc. When sacrifice went away from Gods, the Gods were unable to find it out. The Gods approached Aditi and said, "Through thee let us discern it". She chose a boon, "Let a sacrifice begin from me and end with me". The boon was granted and, therefore, there is a pap to Aditi as introductory offering and a pap to Aditi as concluding offering (AB I.1). The origin of milk-mess at the time of Bahispavamāna is also similar. An Asura woman named Dīrghajīvi licked the morning pressing of the Gods. It became then drunk. Gods said to Mitrāvaruṇa to remove the intoxication. They chose a boon of a milkmess at the Bahispavamāna (AB II.22).²

2 cf. Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice, p.155.

Further development by Gods :

Gods were interested in developing the sacrifice which they obtained either from Prajāpati or from Indra or saw themselves. We have mentioned how some sacrifices or sacrificial details also were discovered by Gods in general or individually. Now let us see how Gods were making efforts in the development of the sacrifice. Many details of the sacrifice were fixed as they proceeded with the performance. Gods and Asuras obtained both kinds of speeth - truth and untruth - from Prajāpati. The Gods developed the truth and the Asuras the untruth. Thus the Gods obtained that truth also which was first with the Asuras and the untruth which was with the Gods went to the Asuras. The Gods then desired to spread that truth. They prepared the Consecration offering. The asuras were aware of this and approached to that where the Gods were performing, before the samistayajus was offered. Therefore, the samistayajus is not offered at the time of the consecration ceremony. The Gods then offered the opening-offering. The Asuras came there when the Śamyos formula had been pronounced. Therefore, that offering is upto śamyos formula. Then they performed the guest-offering. The Asuras arrived there when idā was invoked. Therefore, this offering ends with the invotation of idā Thus various details were fixed by the Gods as they proceeded (ŚB IX.5.1.12ff cp. TB I.5.9.1ff). TB II.2.5-6 we get the origin of the

materials (sāmbhārāḥ) of the sacrifice Gods were not able to make the sacrifice firm. Then they collected the sāmbhāras and then their sacrifice was firm. Thus we know how Gods were trying to overcome the difficulties and then how the sacrifice was developing. ŚB VI.2.3.10 tells us that Prajāpati saw the first layer of the fire-altar. Gods saw the second. Indra, Agni and Viśvakarman saw the third layer, the seers the fourth and Parameṣṭhī the fifth. Here we get a clear idea of how sacrifice was in the making, how it was being developed and how various personalities have some share in its development according to the Brāhmaṇa-texts.

Sacrifice as 'created' :

The Brāhmaṇa-texts have no definite position about whether the sacrifice was 'seen' or 'created'. Sometimes they described it as 'seen' and sometimes as 'created'. We have given above some examples of Prajāpati or Gods having seen it. Let us now see some references where the sacrifice is described as 'created'.

TMB VIII.6.3 says that Prajāpati has created the sacrifice from the yajñāyajñīya sāman. ŚB XI.1.8.3 says that after giving himself to the Gods Prajāpati created his counterpart (Pratimā), viz., the sacrifice. Elsewhere we are told that Prajāpati created the Mādhyandina savana (GB II.3.23) and Indra is said to have created the third savana (JB I.156).

Prajāpati created the sacrifice in general according to AB VII.19. It is described how Gods created various sacrificial details. From out of faith the Gods fashioned the consecration, from out of Aditi, the opening offering; from out of Viṣṇu the guest-offering; from out of the Sun the Pravargya; from out of the svadhā the Upasads; from out of Agni and Soma the day of fasting and from out of this world the opening Atirātra. From out of the year (they fashioned) the Caturviṃśa day, from out of the priesthood the Abhiplava (ṣaḍaha), from out of the nobility the Prṣṭhya-ṣaḍaha, from out of Agni, the Abhijit, from out of the waters the svarasāman days, from out of the Sun the Viṣuvat ... from out of Indra the viśvajit ... from out of Mitra and Varuṇa the Go and Āyus, from out of the Viśve devāḥ, the Daśarātra, from out of the regions the Prṣṭhya-ṣaḍaha of the Daśarātra, from out of these worlds the Chandoma-days. From out of the year (they fashioned) the tenth day; from out of Prajāpati the Mahāvratā and from out of the world of heaven the Udayaniya Atirātra ... (ŚB XII.1.2.1-3; cp. GB I.4.7). Here the origin of sacrifice or of the sacrificial details is described in the form of creation (by the Gods).

Mentioning the performance :

Sometimes the origin of a sacrificial rite is not mentioned in the words meaning that it was 'given' or 'seen'

or 'created'; but only a mention is made about the performance made in the past times. For example, there was once discord among the Gods and in order to remove that discord, Gods performed the Tānūnaptra. (AB I.24; ŚB III. 4.2.1ff; GB II.2.2). The origin of fast is told by describing the fast of the Gods. The nectar of immortality departed from the Gods. The Gods decided to seek it by toil and penance. They, having become consecrated were living on fast-milk. Then they heard the sound of the nectar. Then they resorted to three teats. Then they became able to see the immortality. Then the Gods resorted to two teats and saw it still nearer. Then they resorted to one teat. The immortality approached to them; but still they were not able to catch hold of it. Then they practised entire abstention from food. On the second day they took hold of the immortality and having pressed soma offered into fire, bestowed immortality upon Agni. Agni is the body of the Gods; therefore, they bestowed immortality upon themselves. The sacrificer also follows what the Gods did and lives accordingly on four, three, two, one teat respectively. Finally he does not take anything at all (ŚB IX.5.1.1ff). Here the origin of the fast is told in the performance of Gods. The origin of stambayajurharāṇa is told thus. The Gods were desiring to vanquish the Asuras. Agni said to them "By fleeing northwards they escape from us. I will go round the northern side and you will shut them in

from the sacrificial ground and whilst shutting them in we will put them down by these three worlds". It was done in that manner and the Asuras were put down. Now also Agnīdhara goes round to the north. For he is Agni himself. Then the Adhvaryu shuts the grass-bushes and removes them (ŚB I.2.4.8ff). Here also the particular manner of stambayajurharana has its origin in the ancient performance.

Origin in the divine imitation :

Sometimes a clear mention is made that some sacrificial detail was performed by the Gods in such and such manner and now also it is to be done in that manner. When soma is brought they should speak inaudibly while bringing him. This is done in imitation of Gods. For soma was previously among the Gandharvas. The Gods and seers meditated upon him. Speech (Vāc) said to them, "The Gandharvas love women. With me as a woman you barter the soma. I shall return, when you need me". With her they bought soma and now also with a cow soma is bought and at the time of bringing soma they speak inaudibly for at that time the speech is with the Gandharvas (AB I.27). The origin of Asapatneṣṭakās is also in the divine imitation. Gods desired to remove all the enemies and removed them by means of these iṣṭakās (bricks). Now also evil is removed by means of them. (ŚB VIII.5.1.1ff). The Gods decided to support the third pressing with the Ādityas and, therefore,

the third pressing now also begins with Ādityas (AB III.29). Thus many rites have their origin in imitation of Gods. Not only they have their origin there, but it is an essential rule that one should perform the sacrifice in imitation of Gods.³

Origin in past incident :

Some sacrificial rites have their origin in some past incident. There was a disputation between Mind and Speech. Each one of them claimed to be superior. Mind said, "I am better than you. For you do not speak anything that is not understood by me. Thus you are a follower of me". Speech said, "I am better than you; what you know, I make known; I communicate". Then they went to Prajāpati for decision. He decided in the favour of mind and said to speech, "Mind is better than you. For you are an imitator, a follower of Mind. Inferior is he who imitates". Speech then got angry at that time and said, "I shall never be your oblation-bearer". Hence whatever is performed to Prajāpati, it is performed in a low voice (ŚB I.4.5.8ff). Here this particular manner of offering to Prajāpati is said to be originated in a past incident according to Brāhmaṇas. At the time of killing Vṛtra, Indra promised a cake to Agni and Soma and, therefore,

3 cf. Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice, p.85.

there is a cake to Agni and Soma in the Darśa and Purnamāsa offerings (SB I.6.3.1ff).

The role of seers in obtaining the sacrifice :

The sacrifice and sacrificial rites either obtained from Prajāpati or Indra or seen by the Gods were not easily obtained by men. We know that Gods tried to hide the sacrifice so that men would not know it and having performed them come to heaven. By means of the sacrifice the Gods made the conquest of heaven. When they had conquered, they said, "How may this celestial region be made unattainable by men ?" They then sipped the sap of the sacrifice as bees would suck out honey. They drained the sacrifice and effaced the traces of it with the sacrificial post. The seers heard this and went on praising and toiling. For by praising and toiling the Gods had attained whatever was to be attained and the seers did in the same manner. The seers came to the place where Gods had sacrificed. There they found the sacrificial cake which had become a tortoise and was creeping about. Then they thought "This must be the sacrifice". They said, "Stand still for Asvins ! Stand still for Indra !" but it did not stand still; it crept on. When they said, "Still for Agni". It then stood still. Having enveloped it in the fire they offered it completely. Then the sacrifice shone forth to them. They produced it and spread it. This sacrifice was

taught by the former to the later. The father teaches it to his son when he is a student (brahmacārin)(ŚB I.6.2.1ff; cp. AB II.1 which mentions the men along with the seers and does not refer to the story of sacrifice as tortoise and to the spreading of it by seers from generation to the generation.)

The story given by ŚB above is very important for the understanding of the origin of sacrifice. According to it the performance of the sacrifice was previously done by the Gods. Here it is not clearly said how the Gods themselves have obtained it. From other sources we may understand that the sacrifice was obtained from Prajāpati and was further developed by the Gods. Though the Gods tried to hide the sacrifice, the seers could obtain it and they produced it again and spread. Then the sacrifice was taught by the older to the younger and thus it remained continued.

The role of seers is mentioned elsewhere also. The seers along with men went to see where the Gods had offered the omentum of a victim. At that place, they found the victim without omentum and came to understand the importance of the offering of omentum (AB I.13). The seers saw the fourth layer of the fire altar (ŚB VI.2.3.10). GB I.5.25 says, "The Āṅgīrasas perform all the seven soma-sacrifices, the seven pāka-yajkas and seven haviryajñas - in all

twentyone and the new sacrifices which the seers (ṛṣayah) create and the sacrifice which are created by ancient seers." This verse is very important for it informs us that the ancient seers have created the sacrifices and the seers still continue to create new sacrifices. The Brāhmaṇa-texts thus maintain that the sacrifice was ever developing and growing and the seers creating the new sacrifices had there played a significant role.

Individual seers have 'seen' many sacrifices. Thus Gautama desired to obtain cattle and saw the sacrifice is now known as the Catuṣtoma of Goutama (JB II.173). Atri desirous of four sons saw the sacrifice called Catūrātra (JB II.281). Jamadagni saw the sacrifice which came to be called Jāmadagnya (JB II.284). Vasiṣṭha when his sons were dead saw the Vāsiṣṭha sāman and obtained many sons and cattle (JB II.26). Yudhājīva Vaiśvāmitra desiring to get firm foundation (pratiṣṭhā) practised penance and saw the sāman which came to be known as Yaudhājaya (JB I.122).

Thus we know how the seers have been connected with the discovery of the sacrifice and its further development.⁴

⁴ See further also on the role of seers in the discovery of the sacrifice and sacrificial rites cf. Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice, p.148.

The role of man in general :

The man is also told to have originated the sacrifice. Prajāpati in creating living beings created Agni. Agni as soon as born, sought to burn everything here. The creatures tried to crush him. Then Agni went to man and said, "Having reproduced me maintain me in this world, even so will I reproduce and maintain thee in yonder world". The man accepted him and maintained him (ŚB II.3.3.1ff). Here the origin of Agnihotra is said to be in the contract done by the man and Agni.

Concluding remarks :

The variety of stories which try to explain the origin of sacrifice in general or of some particular rites show that there was no definite view held about the origin of the sacrifice during the Brāhmaṇa-period. There are some stories which make us believe that the sacrifice was seen by Prajāpati, some other in which we find him (i.e. Prajāpati) as a creator of the sacrifice or sacrificial rites. There are some other stories where Gods in general or individual are said to have seen or created the sacrifice or sacrificial rite. Again we read that the sacrifice was given by Prajāpati or Indra. Seers either saw the ritual or obtained from Gods and spread it. Man is also at the origin of the rite like Agnihotra

This will lead to the conclusion that the sacrifice at the time of the Brāhmaṇa-texts was a well-established institution and, therefore, the Brāhmaṇa-texts really know very little about its origin.⁵ Thus, for example, it is said that Devabhāga Śrautārṣa knew the method of division of the savnīya victim. Then somebody other than man Bābhavya (ānyo manuṣyebhyaḥ - GP, amanuṣyaḥ - AB) told it to Girija Bābhavya and from him it came into vogue among men. Here it is obvious that the tradition is not clear and, therefore, only an indefinite mention is made (GB I.3.18; AB VII.1). There are differences in the stories of origin. In ŚB I.6.2.1ff mention is made of the sacrifice found in the form of tortoise and being spread from generation to generation. But AB II.1 which mentions the performance and hiding of the sacrifice in the same way as ŚB does, mention men also along with the seers and does not speak about the discovery of sacrifice in the form of tortoise etc. Thus it can be concluded that the origin of sacrifice was not definitely known at the time of the Brāhmaṇa-texts and the sacrifice was already a well-established institute. Nevertheless, it was a developing institute. Many sacrificial rites were 'seen' by different seers etc. and were added. The sacrifice was still growing. The further details of this growth of the sacrifice will be seen in the next section.

5 cf. Devasthali, Religion and Mythology of the Brāhmanas p.109.

CHAPTER III

VICISSITUDES OF THE SACRIFICE

Introduction :

The sacrifice was a well-established institution at the time of the Brāhmaṇas. But still it was not static. There were many ups and downs, various vicissitudes in the history of the sacrifices. Though the Brāhmaṇa-texts do not give us a consistent and succinct history of the sacrifice, they in their own way refer to some of the vicissitudes of the sacrifice or its details. They tell us how the sacrifice is said to have gone away; they tell us how some difficulties arose and were removed in the case of the sacrifice; they refer to the old practices, and the new practices, etc. and thus supply us with various vicissitudes of the sacrifice. A study of such vicissitudes will surely enable us to understand the dynamic nature of the sacrifice and its history.¹

Expansion of the sacrifice :

The sacrifice was expanding and growing. The expansion of the sacrifice can be known from the story given by ŚB I.4.1.10ff. Māthava, the king of Videgha carried Agni

1 For the vicissitudes of sacrifice cf. Devasthali Religion and Mythology of the Brāhmaṇas, p.110f; 116f; 119f.

Vaiśvānara in his mouth. The seer named Gotama Rāhūgaṇa was his family priest. When addressed by Gotama Rāhūgaṇa, the king made no answer lest the fire might fall from his mouth. The seer began to invoke Agni with the verse of the Ṛgveda. But still the king did not give any answer. The seer went on addressing. When he uttered the expression - "butter-sprinkled one", Agni Vaiśvānara flashed forth from the king's mouth. The king was unable to hold him back. The fire issued from his mouth and fell down on this earth. Māthava, the king was at that time on the river Sarasvatī. Agni went there burning along this earth towards the east and Gotama Rāhūgaṇa and Videgha Māthava followed after him as he was burning along. Agni burnt over (dried up) all these rivers. Agni, however, could not burn over the river called Sadānīrā. In the former times the Brāhmaṇas did not cross that river because it was not burnt over by Agni Vaiśvānara. At that time the land to the east of the river Sadānīrā was very much uncultivated, very marshy, because it was not tasted by Agni Vaiśvānara. Now-a-days, however, the Brāhmaṇas have caused (Agni) to taste it through sacrifices.

In the above story three successive stages in the eastward migration of the Aryans along with their fire-cult are mentioned. At the time of Videgha Māthava the Aryans were extended upto the river Sarasvatī. Then under the

leadership of Videgha Māthava they went as far as the river Sadānīrā. For some time the Aryans could not go beyond the river Sadānīrā. But after some time they went beyond the river and established the sacrifice there also. Agni Vaiśvānara can represent the sacrifice in general and the progress of Agni Vaiśvānara can be supposed to be the progress and expansion of the sacrifice.²

The expansion of sacrifice can be known indirectly from the story of Viṣṇu who is identical with the sacrifice. The Asuras wanted to possess the world. The Gods, placing Viṣṇu, the sacrifice at their head, went to the Asuras. The Asuras offered the earth as much as Viṣṇu - who was very dwarf at that time - would lie upon. The Gods having enclosed him (Viṣṇu - sacrifice) on all three sides, having placed Agni on the east side, went on toiling and worshiping with the sacrifice and then obtained all the earth (ŚB I.2.5.1ff). Here we know how Gods pervaded all the earth by means of sacrifice and this indicates that they spread the sacrifice all over the earth. Thus we can understand that the sacrifice was expanded at the time of the Brāhmaṇa-texts in a very great measure.

2 For this legend and remarks on it cf. Weber, Indische Studien, I, p.170ff.

Growth of the sacrifice :

Though the ritualism in general was already established at the time of the Brāhmaṇas, the sacrifice was always developing. New requirements and demands made it always necessary to develop the ritual further.³ The Brāhmaṇa-texts represent this development. GB I.5.25 implies that the new sacrifices were being created by Ṛṣis (seers). While dealing with the origin and growth of the sacrifice we have given the examples of sacrifices being 'seen' or 'created'. Thus in the Brāhmaṇa-period the number of sacrifices was growing and these new sacrifices were admitted in the ritual sphere of the Brāhmaṇas. Again while dealing with the elevation of the sacrifice, we shall also see how some popular rites were admitted into the ritual of the 'classes' represented by the Brāhmaṇa-texts. Such rites were given when possible, the appearance of the ritual of the classes and were elevated from ritual of the "masses" to the ritual of the "classes". Their importance was also stated in very glowing terms. Thus it is clear that the sacrifice grew considerably during the period of the Brāhmaṇa-texts.

3 cf. Gonda, "Bandhu in the Brāhmaṇas" Brahma-vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin, XXIX, p.5. According to Keith, RPV, 261f the additions and alterations were simply for the purpose of introducing elements of magic potency.

The sacrifice running away :

But this growth was not always going on without any hindrance. There were some occasions when the sacrifice ran away.⁴ Thus the sacrifice is said to have gone away from the Gods and it is added that it roamed about in the form of a black antelope. The Gods found it, stripped it of its skin and brought the skin away with them. Its black, white and brown hair represent the three vedas, threefold science, which is the same as the sacrifice. The skin of the black antelope is to be used, therefore, for the completeness of the sacrifice (ŚB I.1.4.1f; cp. TB III.2.5.6; 6.1f). The sacrifice is said to have gone away from the Gods a second time, when it took the form of the well-winged falcon (suparṇa) and wandered. The Gods caught hold of the sacrifice by means of the Sauparṇa s̄aman (TMB XIV.3.10). The sacrifice was once lost and it was found out by means of the libations (āhutis) (AB I.2) and at another time by means of directions (praiṣa) (AB III.9; cp. I.2). The sacrifice once said to the Gods, "I shall not be your food", and went away from the Gods. The Gods crushed it. It being taken apart was not sufficient for them. The Gods said, "It will not be sufficient for us,

4 For sacrifice running away, see Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice, p. 142ff.

being taken away. Let us gather together the sacrifice". Then they gathered together the sacrifice and requested Ásvins to heal it (AB I.18; GB II.2.6). Elsewhere sacrifice is said to have gone away from the Gods and wandered in the form of a horse. The Gods rushing after it took hold of its tail (vāla) and tore it out and having torn it out, they threw it down in a lump. The hair of the horse's tail grew up as those of plants (ásvavāla grass) (ŚB III.4.1.17; cp. TMB VI. 7.18). Therefore, the prastara-bunch is to be made of ásva-vāla-grass. AB VII.19 gives us another story of sacrifice going away. Prajāpati created the sacrifice. After the creation of the sacrifice the holy power and the lordly power were created. Both the kinds of offsprings were created, viz., those who eat the oblations and those who do not eat them. The Brāhmanas are the offsprings eating the oblations; and the Rājanya, Vaiśya and Śudra classes are the offsprings not eating the oblations. From them the sacrifice departed. The holy power and the lordly power pursued it. The weapons with which the holy power pursued were the utensils of the sacrifice. The weapons with which the lordly power pursued were the horse-chariot, the corslet, the bow and arrow. The lordly power returned without attaining the sacrifice; from its weapons the sacrifice turned away trembling. The holy power followed the sacrifice and obtained it (AB VII.19). Here the importance of the use of the sacrificial utensils is suggested.

In many of the stories mentioning the sacrifice as running away, we find that ultimately importance of the use of something, e.g., the black antelope skin, the sauparna sāman, āsvavāla-grass, sacrificial utensils, etc., is meant to be suggested. It seems that though the sacrifice was gone away at certain occasions, by using something it was re-obtained and thus the use of those things becomes introduced in the ritual. Though the sacrifice ran away many times, its running away itself has marked some progress in the development of the ritual.

Individual rites such as the consecration (dīkṣā) are also said to have gone away. Thus when the Dīkṣā went away, from the Gods, they sought to grasp it with the two months of spring. But it was not obtained. Then they sought to grasp with the two months of the summer; then of the rainy season; then of the autumn; and then of the winter. But they were not successful. Then they sought with the two months of the cool season and they were, then successful. Therefore, the dīkṣā of the sacrificial session is to be taken in the two months of the cool season (AB IV.26). Here also we find that the Brāhmaṇa-text wants to prescribe the particular period for the Dīkṣā. But it refers to the trial and error method adopted by the Gods for obtaining the Dīkṣā when it had gone away. Thus through these vicissitudes the sacrifice

was developing and becoming definite according to the Brāhmaṇas.

No performance of the sacrifice :

We saw above some examples where the sacrifice went away and was re-obtained by using something. In the Brāhmaṇa-texts also we get reference to the incidents of no performance of the sacrifices by those who are expected to perform the sacrifice. Śb I.2.5.24ff can be mentioned in this context. The performers of the ancient time used to touch the altar and oblations. They became poorer (pāpiyāṃsaḥ) and those who washed the hands after the preparation of Veda they became prosperous. Then unbelief took hold of men. "Those who sacrifice, become poor; and those who do not sacrifice, they become prosperous", they said. Then no sacrificial food came to the Gods from this world. The Gods subsist on what is offered up from this world. Then the Gods requested Brhaspati Āṅgīrasa to ordain the sacrifice to men. Brhaspati approached them and after listening to what they said, he explained to them, "What we have heard of as produced for the Gods that is this sacrifice that is to say the cooked oblations - therewith you have performed while touching. That is why you have become poorer. Sacrifice, therefore, without touching. For thus you will become prosperous". "How long ?" they asked. "Till the spreading of the sacrificial grass

on the altar" he said. By sacrificial grass, the altar becomes appeased ... He who knows this sacrifice without touching and becomes prosperous.

Here we know how unbelief spread when the performer of the sacrifices became poorer. As the Gods depend upon the sacrifice they had to make efforts to remove the unbelief and encourage men to recontinue the sacrificial performances. Brhaspati has made here a significant service in the resurrection of the sacrifice. Brhaspati has elsewhere helped Indra in removing away the Asuras who were creating hindrance in the performance of sacrifice. At the time when the Gods were about to come up to perform this sacrifice, the Asuras, the mischievous friends, tried to smite them from the south, saying, "you shall not sacrifice ! You shall not perform the sacrifice". The Gods said to Indra, "Thou art the highest and strongest of us. Do thou hold these fiends in che check". "Let the Brahman(n) be my ally !", he said. "So be it". They made Brhaspati his ally; for Brhaspati is the Brahman and having had the Asuras, the mischievous fiends, chased away in the south by Brhaspati and Indra they spread this sacrifice in a place free from danger and delivery. (SB Ia. 2.3.2-3). Thus the performance of sacrifice even though interrupted sometimes remained continuous and Brhaspati along with Indra has made some efforts for its continuity.

JB III.216 gives another story in which also the performance of sacrifice was stopped when the Gods had gone to heaven taking the sacrifice along with them. Men could not know the sacrifice then. Then the performance of the sacrifice was stopped. Both the Gods and the men remained hungry. For no libations went from this world upwards and no rains came from that world downwards. Then the Gods told Ayāśya to give the sacrifice to the men. Thus even though the performance of the sacrifice was stopped for some time, it was recontinued after some period with the help of Br̥haspati or Indra or Ayāśya.

Difficulties in the performance :

Occasionally some difficulties arose and they were removed by some means. Thus cattle would not serve the Gods for serving as food. Then the Gods saw the sacrificial post as a thunderbolt. They raised it up against the cattle and fearing it the cattle came back (AB II.8). Thus the difficulty was removed by means of the sacrificial post. The pressings of the Gods were not firm. The Gods then saw the cakes and offered them at each pressing to support them and then the pressings became firm (AB II.23). Here the difficulty is removed by means of the cakes. Whatever weapon the Gods used against the Asuras, that the Asuras perceived and countered. Then the Gods saw the silent praise (Tuṣṇīmśamsa)

and hurled it against the Asuras. Then the Gods prospered and the Asuras were defeated (AB II.31). Here the discovery of Tūṣṇīmśamsa proves to be useful for removing away the Asuras. The Angirases were performing a sacrificial session in order to obtain the world of heaven. They were falling into confusion whenever they reached the sixth day. Nābhānediṣṭha's father told Nābhānediṣṭha to recite two hymns in the performance of those Angirases. He recited them (RV X.61 and 62) and the performance was then done well (AB V.14). Here the recital of the two hymns removes the confusion.

Thus we see that in the performance of the sacrifice some difficulties arose, but they were removed by certain means, and thus the sacrifice was being developed.

Sacrifice is said sometimes to have been exhausted. The Gods were very much anxious to replenish the sacrifice, to render it more efficient and practise with it when it was exhausted. What was left in the juhū, of that butter with which they had established the sacrifice, with that they sprinkled the havisdishes and thereby replenished them again and rendered them efficient (SB I.5.3.24).

Allusions to the old practices :

The sacrifice was developing inspite of the hindrances as we have seen. But not only it was developing, it was

adopting some new practices also. Lévi has rightly remarked - "Ainsi de l'aveu même des Brāhmaṇas le cours du temps modifie et transforme les rites du sacrifice".⁵ We find that sometimes the Brāhmaṇa-texts mention the old practices along with the new practices which they want to prescribe. Such references to the ritual of the ancient time will be very useful for understanding the vicissitudes and the history of the sacrifice.

TMB (VIII.6.5f) says that previously all the sacrifice was with the Asuras (asureṣu hi sarvo yajña āsīt). The Gods saw the yajñāyajñīya sāmān and by using it they obtained Agnihotra, Darśa and Pūrṇamāsa, Cāturmāsya, the Soma sacrifice⁶ and in this way all the sacrifice. ŚB XII.9.3.7 mentions that the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice was in the beginning (agree)⁷ among the Asuras. This point is very significant.

5 Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice, p.138. cf. also Weber Indische Studien, X p.156 ff. Keith, RPV, p. 261f.

6 Rönnow, Trita Āptya, p. 12 tries to maintain that the Soma sacrifice was originated among the Asuras.

7 For agre which means "in the beginning" "previously" and "which refers to the mythical example existing 'before' chronological time, but making its influence felt in time". See Gonda, Viṣṇuism, p.51, 74; the same, Inleiding tot het Indische denken, p.40.

It probably indicates that many rites were adopted by the Gods from the Asuras. The ritual of the Vedic Aryans was being developed and it is possible that some rites must have been taken in ancient period from the rites of the popular nature or sometimes from the non-aryan rites and for obvious reasons they were ascribed to the Asuras in the mythological manner.

Some of the details of the sacrificial performance were done differently in the old times. Thus previously all the stotras were sung with the yajñāyajñāya only (JB I.173). In the beginning the Brahman priest was sharer of half of the Dakṣiṇās with the other priests (AB V.34; JUB III.4.3.5; GB I.3.4). Formerly the Brahmana priest-hood belonged to Vasiṣṭha family. But now any one who knows the vyāhrtis can be the Brahman priest at the sacrifice (ŚB XII.6.1.41). Previously the Yūpa was entirely thrown into the fire. The later persons saw the chip of the Yūpa as a fragment of the sacrifice and threw that chip into the fire (AB II.3). To the call for preparing the oblation material the wife of the sacrificer used to rise to act in the ancient times. But now either she or some one else rises in answer to this call (ŚB I.1.4.11-13). Previously, five animals, viz., the man, the horse, the bull, the ram and the he-goat were killed and their heads were used in the course of fire-building (Agnicayana). Thus, for example, they were used in the

fire-building of Āṣāḍha Sauśromateya; but he quickly died after that (ŚB VI.2.1.37). ŚB VI.2.1.39 mentions that it was Prajāpati who first slaughtered the five animals and Śyāmaṇa Sāyakāyana the last. In the interval people used to slaughter them. But now-a-days only these two are slaughtered - the one for Prajāpati and the one for Vāyu. Here the change of the practice seems to be because of the tendency to avoid the slaughter of the man in the ritual - the tendency which marks the later period and which is reflected in the Brāhmaṇa-texts.

Among the references to the old practices we sometimes find that there is some growth in the ritual in the later period. Thus there was only one pressing, viz., the morning pressing, in the old days (GB II.4.23). Previously there was no priest namely the Grāvastut. Arbuda Kāvaseya introduced this priest in the ritual according to KB XXIX.1. Now there are three pressings and also the priest named Grāvastut in the ritual. So this seems to be growth in the ritual which is noted by the Brāhmaṇa-texts. The sacrifice must be ever developing and growing but the Brāhmaṇa-texts have made reference to a very few practices as the occasions allowed them. But on the basis of those we may say that there were many modifications, alterations and additions in the ritual at the time of the Brāhmaṇa-texts as compared to the ritual of the previous day.

Vicissitudes of the animal-sacrifice :

The animal sacrifice is included in the Soma sacrifice and there is also a separate form of it named Paśubandha. Both kinds of the animal sacrifice were performed at the time of the Brāhmaṇas. But there must have been various changes as far as the kind of the victim is concerned. Thus we get a story in which successive stages of the change in the victim are shown. At first the Gods slew the man as the sacrificial victim. When he had been slain his sap went out. It entered into the horse. Therefore, the horse became fit for the sacrifice and him whose sap had been departed they dismissed; he became Kimpuruṣa⁸. They slew the horse and the sap went away from him and entered into the ox. The horse became a Gomrga. When the ox was slain, the sap went away and entered a sheep. Then the sheep became worthy of sacrifice and the ox became a Gayal. The sheep was slain but the sap went away from the sheep and entered into a goat. Therefore, the goat became worthy of sacrifice. The sheep became a camel. The sap remained in the goat for a very long time. Therefore,

8 Kimpuruṣa means 'monkey' according to Weber, Indische Studien, IX, p.246; Keith, RBT, 140. Haug translates the word as 'deformed' or 'dwarf' (his translation p.90 and note there).

the goat is employed very often. They slew the goat and the sap went to the earth. The goat became a Śarabha. The animals from whom the sap was departed are not worthy of sacrifice. The sap in the earth became rice and in that they offer also a cake (which is made of the rice) they do it because they think, "Let our sacrifice be with a victim with sap; let our sacrifice be with a victim whole" (AB II.8; cp. ŚB I.2.3.6f). Various vicissitudes of the animal sacrifice are seen here. The story suggests that the man was in the ancient period supposed to be a victim worthy for sacrifice. The horse was also a regular sacrificial animal for some time. Remnants of these two practices can be seen in the Puruṣamedha and in the Aśvamedha. The he-goat was definitely used for the longer time and in more proportion and, therefore, at the time of the Brāhmaṇas as well as in the later periods the he-goat continued to be a victim for the sacrificial use. The cake which represents the animal has a wide use and particularly in the sacrifices classified under the name iṣṭi. The iṣṭis in which no animal was used and only cake (puroḍāsa) was used seem to be the most , sophisticated form of the sacrifice. Though the vicissitudes of the animals may not be taken in the necessarily chronological connotations, we can at least presume that there were different ideas about the sacrificial victim at different times and places. The origin of thoughts of Ahiṃsā also can

be seen in such references (for details see the section on animal-sacrifice).

The Puruṣamedha :

In the vicissitudes of the sacrifice the Puruṣamedha deserves a more detailed study. There is a difference of opinion about whether the killing of a human creature was done in the ancient ritualism of the Aryans. Therefore, let us see what light the Brāhmaṇa-texts throw upon the Puruṣamedha.

Origin of the Puruṣamedha :

ŚB XIII.6.1.1ff gives the origin of the Puruṣamedha as follows : "Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa desired, "Would that I overpassed all the beings ! Would that I alone were everything here (this universe) !" He beheld this sacrificial performance of five days, the Puruṣamedha, and took it, and performed offering therewith and having performed offering therewith, he overpassed all beings and became everything here". Thus the origin of the Puruṣamedha is ascribed to Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa and some divine sanctity has been in this way attached to it.

Performance of the Puruṣamedha :

There are twenty-three dīkṣās, twelve upasads and five sutyās (somadays) in the Puruṣamedha (ŚB XIII.6.1.2). On the Upavastha (day) there are eleven victims sacred to Agni and

Soma (ŚB XIII.6.1.4). On the sutyā days there are the savanīya victims (ŚB XIII.6.1.5). The first (of the sutyā days) is an Agniṣṭoma; then follows an Ukthya; then an Atirātra; then an Ukthya and then an Agniṣṭoma (ŚB XIII.6.1.7).

On the central day, the Puruṣas (men) are seized (ŚB XIII.6.2.2). The ŚB does not enumerate the details of the Puruṣas and deities to whom they are to be offered. At TB III.4.1.1ff various persons of various castes and particularities are mentioned along with the deities to whom each of the persons is to be offered. ŚB merely mentions some of them. "To the priesthood a brāhmaṇa .. to the nobility, a kṣatriya .. to the Maruts, a vaiśya .. to the Penance, a śūdra ... " (ŚB XIII.6.2.10). At the time of the bringing up of the victims three oblations to Savitr̥ are offered (ŚB XIII.6.2.11), the Brahman priest seated to the right (south) of them, praises with this sixteen-versed hymn (RV X.90; VS XXXI.1-16) 'The thousand-headed puruṣa ...' the men bound to the sacrificial posts (ŚB XIII.6.2.12). The men are set free after the fire has been carried round them (cf. ŚB XIII.6.2.13). After the Udayanīyā offering eleven barren cows are offered to Mitra-Varuṇa, the Viśve-devāḥ and Bṛhaspati (ŚB XIII.6.2.16). The Traidhātavī is the final offering (udavasānīyā) (ŚB XIII.6.2.17).

Dakṣiṇās :

ŚB XIII.6.2.18 describes the dakṣiṇās of the Puruṣamedha as follows : "What there is towards the middle of the kingdom, other than the land and property of the brāhmaṇas but including the men, of that the eastern quarter belongs to the Hotṛ, the southern to the Brahman, the western to Adhvaryu, the northern to the Udgātṛ and the Hotrakas share this along with them. If the performer of the Puruṣamedha is a Brāhmaṇa, then he should bestow all his property as dakṣiṇā (ŚB XIII.6.2.19).

Etymology of the word Puruṣamedha :

The ŚB XIII.6.2.1. gives the etymology of the word Puruṣamedha. "As to why it is called Puruṣamedha ? The stronghold (pur) doubtless is these worlds and the Puruṣa is he that blows here (the wind), he bides (śete) in this stronghold (pur) hence he is the Puruṣa. And whatever food there is in these worlds that is its 'medha'; its food; and inasmuch as this is its 'medha', its food, therefore, (it is called) Puruṣamedha. And inasmuch as at this sacrifice the Puruṣas worthy of sacrifice are killed, therefore, it is called Puruṣamedha".

Here two etymologies are given out of which the second is important. This etymology suggests that the essential

feature of the Puruṣamedha sacrifice is the seizing of the Puruṣas worthy for sacrifice (medhyān puruṣān ālabhate). It is seen that the tendency ~~to~~ not actually to kill the puruṣas, but to treat them as animals in the sacrifice symbolically and then to release them is reflected in the Brāhmaṇas. But still the etymology shows that the essence of Puruṣamedha was in the sacrificing of the Puruṣas.

References to the human sacrifices in the Brāhmaṇa-texts :

In the Agnicayana (fire building ceremony) the heads of animals are to be put (ŚB VII.5.2.1). Among these animals Puruṣa is killed first for the Puruṣa is the first of all the animals. (ŚB VI.2.1.18). ŚB VI.2.1ff tells us that Prajāpati saw the five animals, the Puruṣa, the Horse, the Bull, the Ram, and the He-goat, as the forms of the Agni.

There seems a lot of hesitation about the use of animal heads and this is particularly due to the inclusion of Puruṣa in the list. Thus ŚB VI.2.1.37 we read that some put (in the ancient period)(all) the animal heads. But they then became mortal creatures. For Aṣādhi Sauśramateya these animal-heads were put but he then died quickly. Some make the golden heads saying that they are immortal bricks. But they are false bricks according to the ŚB. Again some make earthen heads. ŚB rejects this practice also and prescribes that the same five animals are to be used as far as possible. Prajāpati

was the first to offer them. Śyāparṇa Sayakāyana was the last. In the interval the people used to slaughter them but now only two are slaughtered - one for Prajāpati and one for Vāyu.

Here it will be seen how ŚB is hesitating. It wants to prescribe all the animals but it has also to mention that this practice is not prevailing now and has stopped with Śyāparṇa Sayakāyana. It will also be seen how some performers substitute the animal-heads by golden heads and some others by earthen heads, and how they are opposed. The third practice more prevailing is to slaughter only two animals. Now killing the human beings in the course of building is found in Roman, German and Slavish customs and its function is to strengthen the buildings.⁹ It is possible that once this practice was actually followed in the course of fire-building also but the Brāhmaṇa-texts are trying to make it symbolical.

A mythological reference to human-sacrifice is found in the following story (ŚB I.1.4.14ff). Manu had a bull. A voice which could kill the Asuras entered in it and its

9 Weber, "Über Menschenopfer bei den Indern der Vedischen Zeit" ZDMG, 18 (1864), p. 273f; Indische Strifen I, 1868, p. 71.

roaring then killed the Asuras. Kilāta and Ākuli, the priests of the Asuras, they went to Manu and made him sacrifice with that bull. When the bull was killed, the voice went from him and entered Manāvī, the wife of Manu. When the Asuras and Rakshasas heard her speak, they became crushed. Kilāta and Ākuli made Manu sacrifice with Manāvī. When she was killed, the voice went from her and entered into the sacrifice itself, into the sacrificial vessels and the Asura priests were unable to remove it from there. In this story Manāvī, wife of Manu, is said to have been sacrificed with and this also perhaps shows the ancient practice of human sacrifice.

In the Āsvamedha sacrifice there is an offering to Jumbaka at the time of the Avabhr̥tha-bath. This offering is offered on the head of a white-spotted bald-headed man with protruding teeth and reddish brown eyes (ŚB XIII.3.6.5). In this connection Weber has rightly remarked that the offering has significance only if the man is drowned.¹⁰ This man represents Varuṇa and the offering is meant for redeeming oneself from Varuṇa. Although the texts available to us do not describe this offering as a killing of man, this Jumbaka

10 Weber, ZDMG 18 (1864) p. 268, Indische Streifen, I. p.63. cf. also Johanson, Dhīṣaṇā, p.131.

offering seems to indirectly represent itself as a remnant of an ancient Puruṣamedha. The Brāhmaṇa-texts seem to have tried to remove the element of killing of man in it.

At AB VII.13ff we read the story of Śunaḥśepa who was to be sacrificed to Varuṇa, but was released due to the favour of the deity Uṣas. This story also shows the view of the Brāhmaṇa-texts towards human sacrifice. Human sacrifice was not altogether unknown to the Brāhmaṇa-texts. But the Brāhmaṇa-texts also refer to the Puruṣas being set free and thereby appear to support the symbolical nature of human sacrifice.

The Sarvamedha includes Puruṣamedha and it is performed on the sixth day (ŚB XIII.7.1.8). This Puruṣamedha (part of the Sarvamedha) is to be done like the Puruṣamedha discussed above and, therefore, is symbolical in nature.

Tendency to avoid killing of the man :

While describing the vicissitudes of the animal-sacrifice we have already noted that once Puruṣa was the first victim but a tendency came there to avoid Puruṣa being offered in the sacrifice. The tendency of avoiding slaughter of man is also seen in ŚB XIII.6.2.12-13. "When Nārāyaṇa was sacrificing, at the time of the slaughtering of the Puruṣas a voice said to him, 'Puruṣa, do not consummate these

victims. If thou wert to consummate them, man would eat man'. Then the Puruṣa set free the human victims". This passage is very important; for, it clearly reflects the tendency to avoid the slaughter of man and also gives the reason for it. Due to this tendency possibly the human sacrifice must have become symbolical as the Brāhmaṇa-texts seem to indicate.

Views of moder scholars :

Modern scholars do not agree upon the problem of the Puruṣamedha, viz., whether the man was ever actually killed or not and whether Puruṣamedha is ancient or is introduced in the ritualism only at a later period and artificially. According to Wilson¹¹ Puruṣamedha was factual. He has taken support of the Śunaḥśepa story. Max Müller¹² is also of the same opinion. Colbrook,¹³ however, says that Puruṣamedha was not a real performance. It was only allegorical. Oldenberg¹⁴

11 Wilson, JRAS, 13, 1852, "On human sacrifice in the ancient religions life of India" p. 96ff.

12 Max Müller, MASL, p. 381.

13 Colbrook, Miscellaneous Essays, I. p.61f.

14 Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p. 363, Johanson, Dhiṣaṇā p. 132 follows Oldenberg.

says that the Puruṣamedha is a product of fantasy and is based upon the Aśvamedha. Keith follows Oldenberg and says that the Puruṣamedha is a mere priestly imagination, "unless as is possible the conceptions of the priest were occasionally made real by a king". He further supports himself by pointing out the fact that the Brāhmaṇas do not give the description of actual slaying of man.¹⁵ Elsewhere he has said that the ritual of the Puruṣamedha is a mere priestly invention to fill up the apparant gap in the sacrificial system which provides no place for man.¹⁶ As regards the use of the human head in the fire-building (Agnicayana) he agrees that there we have the record of a very widely spread usage of slaying a human being to act as the guardian of the foundations of a building, a custom which is world-wide and has often been exemplified in India.¹⁷ Winternitz also agrees with Oldenberg and maintains that the Puruṣamedha probably existed only as part of sacrificial mysticism and theory and occurred very hardly in reality.¹⁸ Weber saw various traces of killing of

15 Keith, RPV, p. 347.

16 Keith, VBVT, p. CXXXVIII, cf. Eggeling, SBE, Vol. XLIV, p. xlv.

17 Keith, VBVT, p. CXXXIX. For this point cf. e.g. Frazer Golden Bough, p. 192.

18 Winternitz, GIL, I. p. 153; HIL, p. 153.

a man in the vedic ritual and studied the story of Śunaḥśepa the Jumbaka-offering offered on the head of a Varuṇa-representing man in the water etc. and tried to show that the killing of man was once done.¹⁹ But when the practice became generally recognised that the sacrificer and the priests should eat a portion of the offered victim, it must have tended to make human sacrifice impracticable.²⁰ ~~Eggeling~~ agrees with this explanation.²¹ According to ~~Hillebrandt~~ the Puruṣamedha is a remnant of the barbaric old times.²²

Conclusion of the Puruṣamedha studies :

As far as the Brāhmaṇa-texts are concerned we think that the views of Weber can be accepted. The Brāhmaṇa-texts know the rites in which man was (or was to be) killed; but the Brāhmaṇa-texts themselves do not prescribed the actual killing of human victims. They want to avoid it. Therefore,

19 ~~Weber~~, ZDMG, 18, 1864; p.262ff; Indische Streifen, I. 1868, p. 54ff.

20 ~~Weber~~, ZDMG, 18, 1864, p. 275; Indische Streifen, I. 1868, p. 72.

21 ~~Eggeling~~, SBE, Vol. XLIV, p. xli.

22 ~~Hillebrandt~~, Ritualliteratur, p. 153.

they have described the human sacrifice to be performed symbolically. The Brāhmaṇa-texts are not indulged with giving place to man newly or filling the gap in the list of animals for the sacrifice as some scholars say; on the contrary they are interested in avoiding human killing or in making it symbolical. This is a sign of changing mentality. The Brāhmaṇa-texts represent sometimes some sophisticated mentality which will not appreciate human slaughter. The origin of Ahimsā is thus seen here remotely and a stem from ritualism to spiritualism is also observed.

Conclusions of the studies on the vicissitudes of the sacrifice :

The sacrifice was being developed and was growing at the time of the Brāhmaṇa-texts. The Brāhmaṇa-texts know certain vicissitudes of the sacrifice. The sacrifice expanded to a very large extent. But sometimes it "ran away" and at those times some ritual details were added. Sometimes unbelief came or some difficulties arose; but through some device the continuity of the sacrifice was re-obtained. The animal sacrifice has undergone special vicissitudes. Some time in the past the Puruṣa also was offered. But the Brāhmaṇa-texts have tried to stop the practice of killing man and made the Puruṣamedha almost symbolical. In the vicissitudes of

animal sacrifice the cake-offering which mystically symbolizes the animal-offering is an important stage.²³ It shows the origin of the principle of Ahimsā and the beginning of spiritualism in the ritualism.

23 For the vegetable sacrifices substituting the animal-sacrifices see Hubert, Mauss, "Sacr", p. 41, n.1.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSIONS IN THE BRĀHMAṆA-TEXTS

Introduction:

In the Brāhmaṇa-texts we find that the sacrifice is being developed. It is growing in various ways; but as the sphere of the ritual is a very extensive one, it is possible that some differences of opinions about some points in the ritual may arise. In the Brāhmaṇa-texts we do not find ritual which is fixed hard and fast; on the contrary the differences of opinion noticed in them show the freedom of thinking. The Brāhmaṇa-texts try to take into consideration these differences of opinion. They not only mention the right view which is to be followed, but they also note the argumentations and reasoning for the views which are not to be followed showing ultimately why they are not to be followed. There are certain discussions which are of the nature of questions and answers and these discussions are merely informative. As the Brāhmaṇa-texts are rightly called "Prescientific Science" we do not get here "scientific" discussions in our sense. But still they pose to be scientific; the "science", however, is peculiar to the Brāhmaṇa-texts. A study of these discussions will be useful for understanding the "sacrifice in the Brāhmaṇa-texts".

Differences of opinions

Scope of the differences of opinions:

Differences of opinions give rise to discussions. These differences have a very wide scope. They pertain matters ranging from minor details to the complete form of a sacrifice. Thus, for example, there is a difference of opinion about the material of the spade. Some make it of bamboo-wood and some suggest that it should be made of gold (ŚB VI 3.1.41-42). As an example of other extreme we may mention the various ways of performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice mentioned by ŚB AIII. 5.4.1ff. Thus the scope of differences is very wide and it is very essential to classify these differences under different headings so that we can get a general idea about them.

a) recitation of the Mantras etc. :

There are some differences of opinions which are connected with the recitation of the Mantras. Thus in the eighth sāmīdhenī verse some utter hotā yo viśvavedasaḥ instead of hotāram viśvavedasam (ŚB I.4.1.35). Sometimes the difference is about the metre of the verses to be used. Thus there is a difference of opinion about the metres of the yājñā and puronuvākya of the Darsāpūrṇamāsa sacrifices. Some have prescribed Triṣṭubh and some others Anuṣṭubh. Bhāllaveya made

the anuvākya of Anuṣṭubh metre and yājñya of Triṣṭubh metre. The Brāhmaṇa-text prescribes either of the two metres for both the yājñya and puronuvākya (ŚB I.7.3.17-19). There is a difference of opinion about the "seer" whose verses are to be used. Thus the Āprī-verses for the animal-sacrifice in the Aśvamedha are according to some of the seer named Vāmadeva; but according to the Brāhmaṇa-texts they must be of the seer named Jamadagni (ŚB XIII.2.2.14). In a sacrifice of three days there is a difference of opinion whether the Retasyā verse is to be sung with or without the Himkāra. According to some it is to be sung without Himkāra. But according to Śaṭyāyani (whose opinion is acceptable to the JB) it is to be sung without the Himkāra only on the first day; and on the other two days it is to be sung with Himkāra (JB I.315). Some were of the opinion that the Prātaranuvāka should be recited according to the metre. Others held that it is to be recited by feet. Still others opined that it is to be recited by half-verses. AB II.18 accepts the third view. In the Dvādaśāha about the making of Nyūṅkha, there was a difference of opinions. According to some it was to be made with the first four syllables, according to Lāṅgalāyana Maudgala with one syllable and according to AB with two syllables (AB V.3).

b) interpretation of the Mantras :

The difference of opinion sometimes pertained to the interpretation of the Mantras. Thus the mystic significance of the Mantras which are to be used in placing the Pañcacūḍeṣṭakā as understood by Māhitthi is different from what is understood by the author of the ŚB. For instance in the verse Ayam dakṣiṇā viśvakarmā etc. (VS XV.18) the words Menakā Sahajanyā occur. Māhitthi understands here, the quarter and subquarter to be meant by these words as Apsarases. The author of the ŚB, however, understands here, Heaven and Earth to be the Apsarases meant by them (ŚB VIII 6.1.17). Such differences of interpretation are seen in the following verses also (ŚB VIII. 6.1.18-20).

c) number, measure, etc. :

Sometimes the differences are connected with the number, measure, etc.. Thus the number of lotuses out of which a garland is prepared after the Avabhṛtha in the Rājasūya, varies between twelve and three according to different authorities. JB, however, after mentioning the opinions of others prescribes twelve as its approved number (JB II200). The number of fire-pans is according to some three, so that if one or two fire-pans are broken another can be used. But the author of the ŚB prescribes only one fire-pan (ŚB VI.5.2.22). Similarly the number of nipples (stanas)

made to the fire-pan is according to some eight and according to others two; but the ŚB is of the opinion that it should be four (ŚB VI.5.2.18-19). The number of verses to be recited in Prātaranuvāka is either hundred, or three-hundred and sixty, or seven-hundred and twenty, or eight-hundred, or one thousand, according to the different desired objects. But the AB says down here the number 'unlimited' (AB II.17). There are differences of opinion about the measure also. Thus there are various opinions about the length of the sacrificial post (yūpa) to be cut. According to different authorities it is five, six, nine, or even eleven cubits etc.; but the measure acceptable to the ŚB is 'unlimited' (ŚB III.6.4.17-20).

d) timings :

Differences are found in the Brāhmaṇa-texts about the timings of the rites. There is a lot of discussion about the timings of the establishment of fires. Thus Kṛttikā, Pūrve Phalgunyau, Citrā and similar nakṣatras are prescribed for various purposes and for various sacrificers. Again, various seasons are prescribed for sacrificers of various castes; but in the end, it is stated that one may establish fires at any time when one intends to sacrifice (TB I.1.2.1-8; cp. ŚB II.1.2.1-3.9). The Atigrāhya-cups are drawn from Pūtabhṛt at the midday pressing after drawing the Āgrayaṇa,

but some say that these cups are to be drawn after the Ukthya-cups are drawn. This view of others is, however, to be rejected (ŚB IV.5.4.6-7). About the animal-sacrifice in the Agnicayana also there is a difference of opinion. According to some, this animal-sacrifice takes place on the new-moon-day but the ŚB lays it down to be performed on the full-moon-day.(ŚB VI 2.2.16-17). According to some, the Mahāvratā-ceremony is to be performed in the middle of the year. But according to TMB and JB this view is not to be followed and the ceremony is to be performed at the end of the year (TMB IV.10.3f; JB II.410). According to some the consecration-ceremony for the Gavāmayana-session is to be done on the Ekāṣṭakā (i.e. the eighth day after the full-moon-day of the month of Māgha). According to some others this consecration-ceremony is to be done in the month of Phālguna. But both these views are rejected by TMB according to which it is to be performed on the fourth-day before the full-moon-day of the month of Caitra(TMB V. 9.1ff).

e) how many times :

Some differences of opinions concern the problem of how many times a particular action is to be done. The Ājyagrahaṇa in the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice is such a case. Some prescribe that one should put butter (ājya) with the

sruva into the juhū three times; thrice into the Upabhr̥t and thrice into the Dhruvā. But the Brāhmaṇa-text prescribes that the butter (ājya) should be put in all these three laddles only once each (ŚB I.3.2.18). Priyamedha Bhāradvājas were learned in the field of ritual; but there was a difference of opinion among them about the Agnihotra. One of them offered the Agnihotra once a day, the second twice a day, and the third thrice a day. The GB, however, prescribes after mentioning this, that one should offer the Agnihotra twice a day (GB. I.3.15).

f) Order :

Sometimes the order of actions to be done has given rise to a difference of opinion. "Some say," Him, Soma, for whom that strengthening (āpyāyana)(meal), the guest-offering (ātithya) is prepared, they ought first to strengthen, and then (ought to perform the Avāntaradīkṣā) and thereupon the Tānūnaptra." But let him not do this. For such indeed was the course of the sacrificial performance; discord arose among them (the Gods), thereat they attained to their former tranquillity; then the Avāntardīkṣā and finally the strengthening" (ŚB III.4.3.12). Thus the order of Tānūnaptra, Avāntardīkṣā and Āpyāyana is told. There was a difference of opinions regarding the order in which the sounding holes (uparava) were to be dug. Some say,

"Let him dig first the left one of the two behind, then the right one of the two behind; then the right one of the two in the front; and finally the left one of the two in the front". But the ŚB does not accept this order. According to it the order to be accepted is as follows: (a) right one in the front (b) left one behind (c) right one behind and (d) left one in the front. Thus the left one in the front should be dug last (ŚB III.5.4.6-7).

g) fires in which offerings are made etc. :

Opinions also differ about the fires in which the offerings are to be made or the place of performance of any action. About the Agnihotra some say that it is to be offered in the Āhvaniya fire; but this view is rejected and it is said that the Agnihotra is to be offered in all the fires and thus four offerings are to be made in the Gārhapatya, four in the Anvāhārya and two in the Āhavanīya (KB II.3). According to some, Prakrama-offerings are to be made (in the Aśvamedha-sacrifice) either in the southern fire or on the foot-print of the horse. But the ŚB prefers them to be offered in the Āhvaniya fire (ŚB XIII.4.3.4; cf. the commentry of Harisvāmin on this).¹ According to some the sour-milk

1 cf. also Eggeling, SBE, Vol. XLIV, p.363 n.3

(in connection with the Dadhigraha) is to be put in the centre of the Āditya-cup. But the prescribed way is to put it in the back part of the Āditya-cup (ŚB IV.3.5.13).

h) Origin of the sacrifice :

There is difference of opinions about even the origin of the sacrifices. Thus the origin of the sacrifices named Satrājīṭ and Pṛtanājīṭ is according to some from Gods. Gods desiring to get victory saw these sacrifices according to them. But according to some it was Prajāpati who saw these sacrifices (JB II.91).

i) Sacrificer :

Variety of opinions was held about the sacrificer also. The JB discusses the various opinions about who should sacrifice with the sacrifices named Udbhid and Balabhid. Some say that one who is desirous of getting the brahman-lustre should perform them, while according to others one who is desirous of life should perform them. According to some these sacrifices are for one who is desirous of heaven and according to others they are for one who is desirous of cattle. The JB, however, is of the opinion that they are for one who is desirous of offspring (JB II.89). About the sacrifice named Virāṭsvarājau also there is a difference of opinion. Some say that this sacrifice is only for one

who is already rich and not for one who is aspiring to get richness; but some others say that this sacrifice is for both i.e. for him who is already rich and for him who is aspiring to be rich (JB II.94). The KB indulges itself in the discussion about who is the Lord of the sacrifice in general. According to some it is the sacrificer who is the Lord of the sacrifice. But the KB denies it and says that the Lord of the sacrifice is the deity and not any human being (KB X.4).

j) Prāyaścittis :

There are some differences of opinions about the prāyaścittis. Thus, for example, if the Agnihotra-cow lies down when she is being milked some make her get up with the words "udasthād devyaditiḥ" etc. and perform an offering; but on this point Yājñavalkya says, "Let him make her get up by pushing her with a staff". According to these two viewpoints it is inauspicious if a cow lies down. But Āruṇi interprets this occasion differently. According to him the cow lies down because she cannot bear the glory and greatness of the sacrificer. The sacrificer should know thereby that he is going to be more glorious. Thus Āruṇi understands this occasion as a good omen and prescribes no prāyaścitti (expiation) (ŚB XII.4.1.9-12). If the Gārhapatya-fire goes out when the Āhavanīya-fire has not gone out, some take

new fire from that same Āhavanīya-hearth and carry it forwards. According to others another Gārhapatya fire is to be churned out; while some others extinguish the Āhavanīya and churn out another. But according to the ŚB these practices are not to be followed. ŚB, on the other hand declares : One should lift the two fires on the two churning sticks and betaking oneself northwards and having churned out the fire one should remain there offering. In the morning, having taken out the ashes and smeared (the fire-places) with cowdung, one should lift the two fires on the churning sticks and return to the offering-ground. Having then churned out the Gārhapatya, taken out the Āhavanīya and brought the Anvāhāryapacana (to the southern hearth) one should prepare a cake on eight potsherds to Agni Pathikṛt and offer it (ŚB XII.4.3.6ff).

k) The whole mode of performance :

We saw above differences of opinions about some details of the sacrifices; but sometimes we find that the whole mode of performance is different according to different authorities. Thus the Pāñcaśārdīya-sacrifice is according to some, of the Pāñcarātra nature. Others say that it is of Atirātra-nature. There were others who believed it to be of Agniṣṭoma-nature. The prescribed or current view is that it is of Uktha-saptadaśa nature (JB II.177). The Āgrayana

offering made after the rice harvest or the barley harvest is different according to different practices. According to one practice a cake on twelve potsherds for Indra and Agni, a pap for Viśvedevas and a cake on eight potsherds for Sky and Earth are to be offered. But according to another way one can offer the oblation of Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifices with the new plants or one may offer in the morning and in the evening the Agnihotra with the barley gruel of the new plants. Or, having made the Agnihotracow to eat the new plants one should offer in the morning and in the evening the Agnihotra with the milk of that cow. Having mentioned these possibilities the KB says that though these ways are there, one should follow the established practice of three oblations (KB IV.14). The Rājasūya is according to some of the Ukthya type. but AB gives its decision that it should be a Jyotiṣṭoma of the Agniṣṭoma form (AB VIII.4). The normal form of the Aśvamedha is Catuṣṭoma-Agniṣṭoma as the first-day, Ekaviṃśa-Ukthya as the second and Sarvastoma-Atirātra as the third (TMB XI.4.1). But ŚB mentions some other forms of the Aśvamedha which were accepted by some ancient persons. Thus in the Aśvamedha performed for Ugrasena, the first two days were the same but the third was Jyotis Atirātra (ŚB XIII.4.1.3). In the Aśvamedha performed for Para Ātṇāra, the Kausalya King, there were the same first two days, but the third was an Abhijit-Atirātra (ŚB XIII.4.1.4) and so on.

1) Performance itself :

Still more important cases of the discussions are those where the way performance of a rite itself is challenged or it is said that a rite should not to be performed at all. Thus there are various opinions about the equipments (sambhāras) of the sacrifice. ŚB II.1.1.1-12 we find five equipments described. TB I.1.3.1-12 mentions seven earthen equipments and seven equipments from trees. But there were some according to whom one should ^{not} equip with a single equipment. For all the equipments are on the earth and when one establishes the fire on this earth the earth, of itself obtains all these equipments and thus there is no necessity of equipments. But this view is, of course, rejected (ŚB II.1.1.14). There is a long discussion in the ŚB about whether to approach the fires (in the evening; in connection with the Agnihotra) or not. First the reason why one should approach the fires is given. In Agni the Gods deposited their all beasts, wild and domestic, thinking that Agni should protect them. Agni coveted them, and seizing them entered the night with them. Gods came there and when night returned in the evening they approached him and demanded the beasts. Agni gave them the beasts. For this reason in imitation of the Gods one should approach the fires. But there are others who challenge this and put forth their opinion, viz., one should not approach the fires.

This view is, however, rejected (ŚB II.3.4.1-8). There were some persons who challenged the performance of Vājapeya. "One must not offer Vājapeya; for one who offers the Vājapeya wins everything here - for he wins Prajāpati and Prajāpati is everything. He leaves nothing remaining here and then his children would be worse. The answer to this view, of course, is that one should perform the Vājapeya. The priests for the Vājapeya must be very proficient and then the sacrifice will be successful (ŚB V.1.1.9-10). Similarly some persons challenged the performance of the Sautrāmaṇī but ^{ir}there view is not accepted (ŚB XII.8.1.17).

Questions and Answers

We saw above how there were differences of opinions and discussions because of them. There are some other discussions which are of question and answer type. Instead of always putting forward a different opinion, there are some persons who ask questions and answers are given to them in those discussions.

a) information about some details of the sacrifice :

Sometimes information about some details of the sacrifice is asked and answers are given. Thus it is asked whether Hotṛ should eat first the subdivided sacrificial food or should he partake of the Hotṛ's goblet first. The answer is,

he should first eat the subdivided sacrificial food and then he should partake of the Hotṛ's goblet (AB II.30). It is asked, "It is by the ṛc that the Hotṛ becomes Hotṛ; by the yajus that the Adhvaryu becomes Adhvaryu, by the sāman that the Udgāṭṛ becomes Udgāṭṛ; by what does the Brahman becomes Brahman?" The answer to this question is that by means of the sap of brilliance which he developed from the three-fold vedic lore the Brahman becomes Brahman (KB VI.11). They ask, "Seeing that a Brāhmaṇa, a Rājanya or a Vaiśya when about to consecrate himself ask a Kṣatriya for a place of sacrifice; whom is the Kṣatriya to ask?" The answer is that he should ask the divine lordly power. The divine lordly power is the Sun, who is the overlord of beings (AB VII.20). They ask "To what deity the butter portions belong?" The answer is, "To Prajāpati" (ŚB I.6.1.20).

The prāyaścittis (expiations) are generally introduced by means of questions and answers. Some ask, "What is the rite and what is the expiation if such and such thing happens?" And then by way of reply the expiation is mentioned. Thus, for example, they ask, "If a man's Sāmnāyya milked in the evening becomes spoiled or some one carried it away, what is the expiation?" Then the answer given is that the morning milking is to be divided into two; and one half of it is to be

curdled and that is to be offered (AB VII.4). Thus the explanations mentioned in the AB, ŚB, JB etc. are detailed through question and answer method (AB VII.3ff; ŚB XII.4.1.2ff; JB I.51ff).

b) (apparent) inconsistency :

There are some questions about the (apparent) inconsistency and answers are given to them which show the consistency. They ask why do they call the Subrahmanya priest a female though he is a male ? The answer is that the Subrahmanya priest is identical with the speech (vāk) which is female (AB VI.3). They ask, "Seeing that the performers of a year's session become consecrated for a year, how does their Agnihotra come to be uninterrupted ?" The answer is, "By the fast-milk". Thus goes on the discussion about the Darsapūrṇamāsa, about the offerings to the fathers, about the offerings of the first fruits, about the animal-sacrifice, etc. and the answers are given to show how all such sacrifices are uninterrupted during the period of the consecration for the one year's session (ŚB XII.3.5.3-11).

c) mystic significance :

Some questions and answers are related with the mystic significance of some ritual details. They ask, "How does that sand (in connection with the fire-altar building) put on by

the days and nights become complete for him neither deficient nor superabundant ?" The answer given is - The days and nights are endless and the sand is also endless. It is thus that, put on by the days and nights, it becomes complete for him, neither deficient nor superabundant (ŚB VII.3.1.39). They ask, "If the Dviyajus brick is that same sacrificer who is that gold man, which is then the real form of him ?" The answer is that the gold man is his divine body and the Dviyajus brick is his human body. That gold man is his immortal divine form because gold is immortal. The brick is made of clay, therefore, it is his human form (ŚB VII.4.2.17). They ask, "What is done here in the building of the altar whereby the sacrificer conquers the recurring death ?" The answer is - He who builds an altar becomes the deity Agni; and Agni is the immortal element (ŚB X.1.4.14). In the following question and answer we get the mystical significance of Śatarudriya by means of numerical speculations. It is asked how the Śatarudriya attains to conformity with the year and Agni. The answer is that the Śatarudriya includes three hundred and sixty formulas and other thirty and thirty-five. There are three hundred and sixty days in a year. Thereby it obtains the days of a year. There are thirty other formulas and there are thirty nights of the month. As to the thirty-five formulas, they are the thirteenth month. Agni's self - the body consists of thirty

limbs (viz., twenty fingers and toes, the upper and lower arms, the thighs and shanks and the hands), the feet of two, the breath of two (inbreathing and outbreathing) and the head is the thirty-fifth. So much is the year. In this way the Śataradriya attains to conformity with the year, Agni and corresponds with the year, Agni (ŚB IX.1.1.43).

Learning and teaching :

There are some discussions in the Brāhmaṇa-texts which are of learning and teaching nature. On the fire-altar after having laid down the Vikarṇī and Svayamātrṇṇā bricks one scatters the golden bricks. Then the Anvāhārya is placed. As regards the golden chips, there was disputation between the teacher and student, viz., Śāṇḍilya and Sāptarathavāhini. Sāptarathavāhini said that these chips were the hair of Prajāpati and sacrificer. But Śāṇḍilya told him that it was his form; for, the form can be either with hair or without hair (ŚB X.1.4.10-11). Similarly Svaidāyana taught and explained the significance of Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifices to Uddālaka Āruṇi. He explained to him how the growth of the creators is in mystic connection with the Darśapūrṇamāsa-sacrifices (ŚB XI.4.1.1-16). Thus he explains - " Inasmuch as the fore-offerings are without invitatory formulas, therefore, the creatures are born without teeth; and inasmuch as the chief oblations have invitatory formulas, therefore, they (the teeth) grow in

them and inasmuch as the after-offerings are without
 invitatory formulas, therefore, they (the teeth) decay
 in them; and inasmuch as the Patnīsaṃyājas have invitatory
 formulas, therefore they (the teeth) come to remain
 permanently with them; and inasmuch as the Saṃiṣṭayajus
 is without invitatory formula, therefore, they all decay
 again in the last stage of life. And inasmuch as after
 uttering the invitatory formula he offers with the offering-
 formula, therefore, the lower (teeth) grow first, then
 the upper ones; and inasmuch as, after uttering a Gāyatrī
 verse as invitatory formula, he offers with a Triṣṭubh
 verse therefore, the lower (teeth) are smaller, and the
 upper ones are broader; and inasmuch as he pours out the
 two libations of ghee in a forward direction, therefore,
 the incisors are longer; and inasmuch as the two saṃyājyas
 are in the same metre, therefore, the molars are of equal
 size. And inasmuch as he spreads a cover of sacrificial
 grass (on the vedi), therefore, creatures here are born
 with hair; and inasmuch as he for the second time, as it
 were, spreads the prastara-bunch, therefore, for the second
 time, as it were, the hair of the beard and the arm-pits,
 and other parts of the body grow; and inasmuch as at the
 first he only throws the prastara-bunch after (the oblations
 into the fire), therefore, it is on the head that one first
 becomes grey; and inasmuch as he then throws after it all

the sacrificial grass of the altar-ground therefore, in the last stage of life, one again becomes grey all over. And inasmuch as the fore-offerings have ghee for their offering material, a boy's seed is not productive, but like water; for ghee is like water; and inasmuch as, in the middle of the sacrifice, they sacrifice with the sour curds, and with the cake, therefore, it is productive, in his middle stage of life; for thick-flowing, as it were, is (that havis) and thick-flowing as it were is seed; and inasmuch as the after-offerings have ghee for their offering-material, it again is not productive in his last stage of life, and is like water; for ghee, indeed, is like water" (Śb AI.4.1.12ff). Similarly, Varuṇa taught his son the mystery of Agnihotra and explained the various scenes the son had seen in the following way, "As to those men whom thou sawest in the eastern region being dismembered by men hewing off their limbs one by one and saying, 'this to thee, this to me !' they were the trees; when one puts fire-wood from trees on (the fire) one subdues the trees and conquers the world of trees. And as to those men whom thou sawest in the southern region being dismembered by men curring up their limbs one by one and saying, 'this to thee, this to me', they were the cattle; when one makes offering with milk one subdues the cattle ... And as to those men whom thou sawest in the western region who, whilst sitting still, were being

eaten by men sitting still, they were the ^herbs; when one
 illumines (the Agnihotra milk) with a straw, one subdues
 the herbs ... And as to those men whom thou sawest in the
 northern region who whilst crying aloud, were being eaten
 by men crying aloud, they were the waters; when one pours
 water to (the Agnihotra milk) one subdues the water ... And
 as to those two women whom thou sawest one beautiful and
 one over-beautiful - the beautiful one is Śraddhā; when one
 offers the first libation (of the Agnihotra) one subdues
 Śraddhā and conquers Śraddha and the overbeautiful one is
 Āśraddhā; when one offers the second libation, one subdues
 Āśraddhā ... And as to the black man with yellow eyes who
 was standing between them with a staff in his hand, he was
 Krodha; when having poured water into the spoon, one pours
 (the libation into the fire) one subdues Krodha ... And
 verily whosoever, knowing this offers the Agnihotra, thereby
 conquers everything, subdues everything" (ŚB XI 6.1.1ff;
 cp. JB I.42ff).

Discussions leading to philosophical thought :

There are some discussions leading to philosophical
 thought also. Dhīra Śātaparṇeya went to Mahāśāla Jābāla.
 Jābāla asked him the nature of Agni he understood. Dhīra
 Śātaparṇeya described Agni as the speech, then the eye, then
 mind, then ear and then everything here. Finally Jābāla

explains to him Agni as the breath (prāṇa) (ŚB 4.3.3.1-5). Some ask, "Is the Death one or many?" The answer to this question is that he is both one and many. For, inasmuch as he is that (man in the Sun) in yonder world, he is ^{one} ~~and~~ and inasmuch as he is numerously distributed among the living beings, there are also many of them (deaths). Similarly they ask, "Is the death near or far away?" The answer is "Both - near and far away". For, inasmuch as he is here on earth in the body, he is near, and inasmuch as he is that one in yonder world, he is also far away (ŚB 4.5.2.16-17). Janaka Videha performed a sacrifice and gave many dakṣiṇās to the priests. Setting apart one thousand cows, he said that only the one who is learned in sacred writ should take them. Yājñavalkya took them. Others raised objections against him and Śākalya as one of those opponents began to ask Yājñavalkya some questions about the number of Gods. Yājñavalkya in reply to successive questions gave the number of Gods ^{as} three hundred and three, and three thousand and three, thirty-three; the two, one and half, and finally one. When he was asked to narrate in details, he explained that there were thirty-three Gods, and three hundred and three and three thousand were there powers. The thirty three gods are the eight Vasus, eleven Rudras and twelve Ādityas along with Indra and

Prajāpati. Vasus are Agni, the earth, Vāyu, the Air, the Sun, Heaven, the moon and the stars. The Rudras are the ten vital airs and the self. The Ādityas are the twelve months. Indra is thunder and Prajāpati the sacrifice. Thus these are the thirty-three Gods. As regards the three Gods, they are the three worlds for therein the Gods are contained. The two Gods are food and breath. The one and a half God mean Vāyu. The one God is the breath. At this stage Yājñavalkya told Śākalya that he (Śākalya) had gone asking beyond the deity, he would die soon and even his bones would not reach his home; and this came true in the case of Śākalya (ŚB XI.6.3.1-11).

Reasonings and counterreasonings in the discussions:

It may be interesting to take note of the reasonings and the counterreasonings that are said to have taken place in the discussions in the course of discussions.

a) Reasonings - ^{a)}likely danger pointed out :

The advocates of a particular view some times point out the likely danger if a particular action in the sacrifice is done according to the view of others; or they show that something which is not wanted may be done if the action is done according to the view of others. Thus, for example, the reason why one should not eat flesh of the sacrificial

victim is that as the sacrificer is identical with the victim itself, if the sacrificer eats the flesh of the victim he would eat his own flesh (KB X.3). In the Āgrayana-offering the pap for Viśvedevas is to be prepared according to some from old grain. For, Indra and Agni (to whom a cake on twelve potsherds is prepared in the Āgrayana) are the ksatra. The Viśvedevas are the viśaḥ. He should use, therefore, old grain for the Viśvedevas, lest the sacrificer should exalt the viśaḥ to the level of the Kṣatra and this is not desirable (ŚB II.4.3.7).

b) some result will be achieved:

Some reasonings show that if a particular way of performance is accepted, some good result may be obtained. Those who give their opinions about the recitation of the Prātaranuvāka by feet, argue that cattle have four feet and when one recites the Prātaranuvāka by feet, one gets cattle (AB II.18). Some argue that the sacrifice named Rājasūya performed by a Kṣatriya should be Ukthya which has fifteen stotras and śastras. The Pāncadaśa stotra is might, lordly power, etc. and the Rājanya is also might, lordly power, etc. Thus the Rājanya is made to prosper. Again, it has thirty stotras and śastras and Virāj has thirty syllables. Virāj is food and food is obtained thereby. Therefore, the Rājasūya should be a fifteenfold Ukthya (AB VIII.4)

c) "year-gaining" ideology :

Sometimes the argument is based on the "year-gaining" ideology. Thus if a particular action is done in a particular manner the performer gains the 'year' which is very much desired. Thus the number of verses in the Prātaranuvāka varies because of the year-gaining ideologies. Everybody prescribes a particular number which is shown by him to be connected with the year. Thus according to some the number of verses should be three hundred and sixty. For the number of the days of a year is three-hundred and sixty. According to some others the number should be seven hundred and twenty. For there are seven hundred and twenty, days and nights together (AB II.18).

d) imitation of Gods :

The theologians sometimes support their view by saying that their view is based upon the imitation of Gods. They say that the sacrificial dishes are to be cooked on the Āhavanīya fire, for Gods did the same and ascended to the heaven (Śb I.7.3.26) and in order to imitate the way of Gods one should cook the sacrificial dishes on the Āhavanīya.

Counter-reasonings :

The opinions which are acceptable to the brāhmaṇa-texts are also accompanied by reasonings. Those who hold

some particular views, refute the opinions of others and try to support their views by giving counter-reasonings.

a) likely danger pointed out :

The counter-reasonings point out the likely danger if the views of others are accepted. Thus the words to be uttered at the time of touching the calves when they meet their mothers are vāyavaḥ stha (VS I.1). Some add here upāyavaḥ stha. The ŚB says that this is not to be done. For, thereby another (an enemy) approaches the sacrificer (ŚB I.7.1.3).

b) danger said to be likely can be removed etc. :

Some counter reasonings have occasionally been advanced to prove how the danger or something unwanted said to be likely by the other theologians can be averted. Thus some argue that there should not be Ṣoḍaśī-stotra in the Ukthya-sacrifice. For Ukthas are identical with the cattle and ṣoḍaśī is identical with the thunderbolt; and the thunderbolt would fall on the cattle if Ṣoḍaśī-stotra is used. But the JB says that this danger can be averted by using water which is of pacificatory nature (JB I.202). The opponents say in connection with the animal-sacrifice that occurs in the Agnicayana that there should be neither the samīṣṭayajus nor the avabhṛtha-bath. For, this is the

commencement of Agni. The samistayajus are a gracious dismissal of the deities and the avabhrtha-bath is the completion (of the sacrifice). If the samistayajus and avabhrtha are performed, there will be completion at the very commencement. The danger of untimely completion put forward by the opponents is accepted by ŚB but still it says that one should nevertheless complete the sacrifice thereby. A story is given then. Prajāpati, having offered that animal, saw that he had not reached the end of him, Agni. Therefore, the sacrifice is to be completed. Again, that animal-sacrifice is his vital air and if anything were to cut him off from that, it would cut him off from the vital air; and if anything were to cut him off from the vital air, he would die. Therefore, in order to avoid this one should rather complete the sacrifice by performing samistayajus and avabhrtha (ŚB VI.2.2.38).

c) possibility of good result :

The counter reasonings sometimes mention the possibility of gaining good result if the way supported by them is accepted. The opponents say that the Devikā-havīṃsi in connection with the Agnicayana should not be offered. For if they are offered, then something excessive (which is not required) would be done. The answer to this is that these offerings are to be made for fulfilment of special wishes and,

therefore, they are to be offered and then those wishes will be fulfilled (ŚB IX.5.1.40).

d) possibility of 'year-gaining' :

The year-gaining ideology is useful also in the counter-reasonings. Some say that the Rājasūya should be of Ukthya type. Rejecting this the AB puts forth the view that the Rājasūya should be of Jyotiṣṭoma-Agniṣṭoma nature. The reasoning to prove this is based upon the year-ideology. The Jyotiṣṭoma-Agniṣṭoma has twenty-four stotras and śāstras; the year has twenty-four half months. In the year is all proper food. Therefore, it should be Jyotiṣṭoma-Agniṣṭoma nature. (AB VIII.4). The savanīya victims in connection with the Āśvamedha are according to some, twentyone in number and for Agni alone. But the view is not to be accepted. According to the ŚB there are twentyfour victims for twelve deities. The reason for the number twelve ~~months~~ is that there are twelve months in a year and the year is everything. The Āśvamedha is also everything. Then everything is obtained. (ŚB XIII.5.3.11).

e) imitation of Gods :

In the counter-reasonings also, the force of imitation of Gods is used. The offering of a he-goat to Prajāpati is a part of the animal-sacrifices in connection with the Agnicayana.

Some say that it is to be slaughtered on new-moon-day. For Prajāpati is yonder moon, during that night of the new-moon, he dwells upon here (on the earth) and it would be just as if he slaughtered him while staying near. To this argument answer is given that this offering should nevertheless, take place on full-moon. The reasoning for this is that the victim is the yonder moon and him the Gods made slaughtering at full-moon. In imitation of that the victim is to be killed on full-moon day (ŚB VI.2.16-17).

f) practical consideration :

Sometimes a view of the opponents is rejected and another is established on the basis of mere practical consideration. The sacrificer who has been consecrated, breaks silence, according to some, after seeing the first star in the evening. That is a sign by means of which one becomes sure that the Sun has set. But this view is not to be followed. For, what can be done when the sky is cloudy ? Therefore, he should break silence as soon as he thinks that the Sun has set (ŚB III.2.2.5). The Prayujām havīṃsi, twelve in number, are to be performed, according to some, month by month. The objection is, "Who knows about the (life of) man ?" i.e. there cannot be certainty about the life of a man, that he will live so long. Therefore, these offerings are to be made together (ŚB V.5.2.2). There is a difference of opinion about

the mounting of the altar. Some mount it from the front (east) towards back or from the back towards the east. But this is not to be done. For that Agni (the fire-altar) is an animal and if he mounts an animal from the front towards the back, it strikes him with its horns; and if he mounts it from the back towards the front it strikes with its feet. Let him mount it only by the middle body. For the animal which people mount by the middle body, carries them forwards and does not hurt them (ŚB VII.3.2.17).

g) quoting authority :

In order to maintain a particular view the Brāhmaṇa-text sometimes quotes authority for which it has some regard. Some persons raise objection on the Ājya Śāstra. They say, "As is the stotra, so is the śāstra. The sāmasingers sing two verses for Soma, the purifying. The Hotṛ recites the Ājya to Agni; how, then does he follow in recitation the verses to Soma, the purifying?" The answer to this objection is that Soma, the purifier is Agni, as it is declared by a Seer of ṚV "Agniḥ ṛṣiḥ pavamānaḥ ... (Agni, the Seer, the purifying)" (ṚV IX.66.20) (AB II.37). Thus here an ancient authority from the Ṛgveda is quoted in order to prove the opinion.

h) verses quoted :

Sometimes verses are quoted in support of what one wants

to say. In order to support the view that the Agnihotra should be offered after the sunrise verses are quoted. Thus the discussion goes on as follows - "Day and night are the wheels of the year; verily thus with them he goes through the year. If he offers before sunrise, that is as if one were to go with (a chariot with) a single wheel. But if he offers after sunrise, that is as if one were swiftly to perform a journey with (a chariot with) wheels on both sides. As to this the sacrificial verse (yaṣṇagāthā) is recited - -

'This goeth yoked with Br̥had and Rathantara,
All that hath been and is to be;
With them should be go who is wise taking the fires
By day should he offer one, by night another'.

The night is connected with the Rathantara, the day with the Br̥hat; Agni is the Rathantara, Āditya the Br̥hat. Those deities make him attain the vault of the tawny one, the world of heaven, who knowing thus offers after sunrise. Therefore, should one offer after sunrise. As to this, the sacrificial verse is recited -

'As one may go with a single horse,
Having nothing else for harnessing,
So many men go,
Who offer the Agnihotra before sunrise'(AB V.30).

1) stories told :

Stories are told sometimes, in order to prove one's point. In order to maintain that one should establish fires on such and such asterisms stories are told. Thus, for example, it is said that one should establish fires on Rohiṇī. For it was on Rohiṇī that Prajāpati, desirous of progeny, set up fires and obtained progeny. Similarly one who establishes fires on Rohiṇī would get progeny (ŚB II.1.2.6). For, establishing fires on Citrā asterism also a story has been told. Gods and Asuras both were desiring to rise to the heaven. The Asuras constructed the fire-altar called Rauhiṇa. Indra, under the disguise of a Brāhmaṇa came there with a brick, pretending to help them put his brick there. When the fire-altar was almost completed, Indra pulled out his brick with the result that the whole construction toppled down and the Asuras were ruined. The Gods expressed their wonder on this by the word "Citram". This is the wonderful nature of Citrā brick. One who establishes fires on this constellation kills his enemy (ŚB II.1.2.13-17).

j) calling others' opinion "mīmāṃsā" :

In some discussions we find that the opponents have an opinion about a rite; but that view is mere speculation(mīmāṃsā)²

2 On Mīmāṃsā see Oldenberg, Weltanschauung, p.224 and n.2 on that page; Keith, RPV, p.483.

The rite is not performed according to it at all. So the Brāhmaṇa-texts point out that the opponent's view is not followed by anybody. It is merely something like a view for view's sake. There were some thinkers according to whom one should press five times at each turn for one who is desirous of cattle. For the cattle consists of five parts. The fact however, is that this is a mere speculation (mīmāṃsā). The manner in which the performance is done has been mentioned earlier i.e. eight times, then eleven times and then twelve times (ŚB IV.1.1.16). ŚB IV.5.3.8 allows first that one may draw the Ṣoḍaśin-cup at the midday pressing after drawing the Āgrayana-cup. But then it says that this is a mere speculation. Let one draw it at the morning pressing (ŚB IV.5.3.8).

Conclusions of the discussions:

a) other practices rejected totally :

Sometimes we find that the practices mentioned by the others and which are not acceptable to the Brāhmaṇa-text which mention them are rejected totally. The ways of rejecting³ are simple. The AB uses the phrase "tat tan nādr̥tyam" (e.g. AB II.3; II.26 etc.) i.e. "that is not to be regarded". The same text also uses another phrase "tat

3. cf. Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice, p.140.

tathā na kuryāt" (e.g. AB VI.21; VIII.26 etc.) i.e. "One should not do it in that manner". AB rejects the view that in the pot in which one throws the introductory offering (prāyaṇīyā) into that one should throw the concluding offering (udayaṇīyā) so that they prosper in the yonder world. This view is rejected with the words "avidyayaiva tadāhuh" i.e. "they say this through ignorance" (AB I.11). The usual phrase of the ŚB for rejecting the views of others is "tad u tathā na kuryāt" (e.g. ŚB I.1.1.7-10; 9.2.2 etc.) i.e. "that should not, indeed, be done in that manner".

b) option prescribed :

Sometimes in the cases of difference of opinion, option is prescribed as the conclusion of the discussion. It is said that the sacrificer or performer should do as he may like to do. As regards the measure of the sacrificial cake (puroḍāśa) some say that it should not be too broad. Some say that it should be as broad as a hoof of horse. The conclusion of this discussion is that the size may be decided by the performer himself (ŚB I.2.2.9-10). In the building of the sepulchral mound, in the case of one who has not built a fire-altar, there is a difference of opinion. Some say that pebbles should be used instead of bricks. Some do not accept this. In such a position there is option given by the Brāhmaṇa-text; and one may do as he thinks (ŚB AIII.8.4.11). Some say that the altar for the Darśa-pūrṇamāsa

sacrifices should measure three cubits long on the eastern line. But the ŚB says that there is no fixed measure. Let him take it as long as he thinks fit in his own mind (ŚB I. 2.5.14).

c) views of others accepted :

Sometimes a brāhmaṇa-text agrees with the opinions of others and accepts them. Concerning the Stotriyā oblations, the ŚB first states that there should be one thousand of them. But it mentions the opinion of others according to whom if one offers a limited, specific number of offerings, one will get a limited result. In order to obtain something unlimited, one should offer unspecified oblations. This view of others is accepted (ŚB AIII.8.4.11). Some say that one should offer to both Agni and Sūrya in the morning and in the evening. When there are two guests in the house one has to honour both. Therefore, the formulas of offering are- "Agnir jyotirjyotiḥ sūryaḥ svāhā" - in the evening and "Sūryo jyotirjyotiḥ agniḥ svāhā" in the morning. Thus both the Gods are honoured (TB II.1.2.9-10).

d) compromise :

Sometimes the discussions end in compromise. In connection with the Darsapūrṇamāsa sacrifices Āṣāḍha Sāvayasa proposed that while observing the rules of the sacrifice one should not eat anything. For the Gods are residing in his

house and it would be unbecoming if he were to take food before them. So he should observe a complete fast. To this rigid view Yājñavalkya suggests compromise. Yājñavalkya argues that if nothing is eaten then the sacrificer becomes a sacrificer to the manes; and if anything is eaten it would be eaten before the Gods which is not proper. So there should be some golden mean. He should eat what will be counted as non-eaten. That is of which no offering is made, even though it is eaten, it is considered as not eaten (ŚB I.1.1.7-10). About the lute playing and singing in the Aśvamedha sacrifice there are some ritualists according to whom both the singers should be Brāhmaṇas. In this case there is a likely danger, viz., the political power would go away from him. If both are Rājanyas, then the spiritual power would go away. Therefore, there is a compromise. One of them should be a Brāhmaṇa and the other should be a Rājanya (ŚB XIII.1.5.1 ff).

Who are the opponents :

There can be a curiosity as to whom the views quoted in the Brāhmaṇa-texts, belong. They are not always specifically mentioned. The reference to the opponents is many times totally indirect and the views of them are introduced with the words "tad āhuḥ (so (they) say)". It is for us to suppose that these are some thinkers on ritual who belong to some other school

or they are students who are either disputing with or inquiring to their teachers(ŚB A.1.4.10-11). Sometimes the other views are ascribed to Brahmvādinah(theologians)⁴. Sometimes the opponents are ridiculously called 'kuśalā manyamānāḥ'(e.g. ŚB AI.4.2.1; 4; 13 etc.) "supposing themselves to be clever".

Some views are ascribed to some individual ritual thinkers. There were many such ritual thinkers e.g. Yājñavalkya (e.g. ŚB III.1.2.21), Kauṣītaki (e.g. KB II.9; VII.4 etc.)⁵ Śatyāyani (e.g. JB I.291) etc.

Some views are ascribed to the groups of persons e.g. Kurupāñcālas or Carakādhvaryus. The offerings according to the ŚB have fourfold cutting; but according to the Kurupāñcālas they are of fivefold cutting (ŚB I.7.2.8). The Carakādhvaryus lay down different and additional bricks as the holders of the downward air of the circulating air, of the outward air, of the pervading air, as eyeholders, etc.

4 For the word Brāhmavādin which means "expounder of the Veda" and "theologien" see Macdonell, Keith, Vedic Index, p.79.

5 For Kauṣītaki see Keith, RII, p.24.

but the ŚB does not accept this practice. According to it this is in excess, and the bricks that hold the upward air themselves will do the work of holding other airs etc. (ŚB VIII.1.3.6.7).

Generalities about the discussions :

In general we can say that the Brāhmaṇa-texts represent the development of the sacrifice. There were various customs, practices, views, etc. and the Brāhmaṇa-texts having taken into consideration all of them tried to give a particular way of performance. In doing this they sometimes made compromises. The discussions in the Brāhmaṇa-texts are as Max Müller has said, "Not bona fide".⁶ He further says, "Never was dogmatism more successfully veiled under the mask of free discussion than in the Mīmāṃsā or discussion of the Brāhmaṇa"⁷. But when we see the "conclusions" of the discussions in the Brāhmaṇa-texts (see above) we can hardly feel that there is any dogmatism in the real sense. There is no doubt, effort for achieving some system, definiteness etc. But this aim is not completely obtained. The Brāhmaṇa-texts are trying to collect all the practices as far as possible.

6 Max Müller, HASL, p.389

7 Max Müller, HASL, p.389

The Brāhmaṇa-texts are the beginnings of the sacrificial science;⁸ they are the 'prescientific science'.⁹ Of course, it is not the 'science' in the real sense. There are no hard and fast rules observed in argumentation, reasonings, etc. The reasonings are mainly of the mystical nature. The year-ideology, the numerical speculations,¹⁰ identifications etc. were very loose weapons which could be used by any party and as conveniently as one requires. ŚB 1.3.3.10 prescribes that the grass should be spread threefold. The reasoning is that the sacrifice is threefold. Now this reasoning is elsewhere used by the opponents also. Those opponents say (in another connection) that thrice one should take the butter with sruva into juhū; for sacrifice is threefold. But this reasoning and the opinion of the others are rejected. We have already seen in describing the reasonings and counter-reasonings how the year-ideology and numerical speculations are used by both the opponents and the Brāhmaṇa-texts. Those who hold that the whole sacrificial post (yūpa) is to be thrown into the fire they tell us that this is for the sake of imitation of Gods. Gods had done the same and, therefore, one should do it in that manner.

8 Anternitz, GIL, p.170.

9 Oldenberg, Weltanschauung, includes the words "Vorwissenschaft-liche Wissenschaft" in the title of the Book.

10 On the numerical speculations see Heesterman, Consecration, p.34f.

But further story of the Gods and Asuras is told by the other party to prove that one should throw only a chip of that sacrificial post into the fire. Thus when the Gods threw the whole sacrificial post into the fire, the Rakṣas sipped the sacrifice (= Soma). Therefore, the Gods said said to their Adhvaryu to throw only one chip of the post into the fire. Then the Rakṣas did not sip that sacrifice. Therefore, the conclusion is that one should not throw the whole post, but only a chip into the fire. Then also it is an imitation of the Gods (ŚB III.7.1.29-32). Thus both the parties use the same reasonings and the discussions in the Brāhmaṇa-texts are not rigid, dogmatic but rather loose. Again, many times in the conclusions of the discussions, the Brāhmaṇa-texts allow the sacrificer's good will to take decisions. We have already given some examples of this point. We may add a following example very interesting in this connection. Thus after prescribing various asterisms, seasons, days, etc. for the sake of establishment of the fires it is said that one may establish fires at any time when one feels called upon to sacrifice and should not put it off from one day to the morrow. For "who knows the morrow of the man ?" (ŚB II.1.3.9ff; cp. TB I.1.2.8). This will show how there is not as much rigidity, dogmatism etc. as it would appear at first sight.

The reasonings are of supreme importance. Thus the Arkāśvamedhasam̐tati oblations (in the fire-building ceremony) are said to be five. But there, we find that freedom is given for inserting any other oblation. The condition for this is only that there must be some reasoning, an explanation - a brāhmaṇa¹¹ for supporting it (Śb IX 4.2.27). Some raise objection to it saying that those additional oblations would be in excess. But the answer to such objection is that there is nothing excessive in desires and these oblations are to be offered according to the desires (Śb IX.4.2.28). We can see thus how freedom of performance is given. In the brāhmaṇa-texts though they are in the main connected with the ritual, we thus find there is no strict rigidity no rigid emphasis on mere "letter"; but the brāhmaṇa-texts are interested in the "spirit" of the ritual action also. This is how the brāhmaṇa-texts show us how the ritualism and the spiritualism both had their own scope. The discussions leading to the philosophical thought may be mentioned here for the spiritualism (though rudimentary) in the brāhmaṇa-texts.

11 For the word brāhmaṇa see winternitz, GIL, p.104;
Silburn Instant et cause, p.64.

CHAPTER V

ELEVATION OF THE SACRIFICE IN THE BRĀHMAṆA-TEXTS

Introduction :

In the Brāhmaṇa-period we find that the sacrifice is being developed. Many new sacrifices are created, many new rites are added to the existing sacrifices and many rites which are already being performed outside the vedic sphere of ritualism are included in the vedic ritual.¹ This third category is connected with the ritual of the "masses" which was absorbed in the ritual of the classes with some modifications if required. In the Brāhmaṇa-texts we find the process of elevation of sacrifice for establishing these new

1 For this point, viz., many rite existing outside the vedic sphere of ritualism were included in the vedic sphere of ritualism see Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie, I, p. 304, n.1; Johanson, Dhisanā, p. 40; Arbmann, Rudra, Chapter IV; Keith, RPV, p. 56, 474; K. Ronnow, "Zur Erklärung des Pravargya, des Agnicayana und des Sautrāmaṇi", in Le Monde Orientale, 1929, p. 113, 131; etc.; Gonda, "Ancient Indian Religions Terminology", in History of Religions, I (1966) p. 270f; the same, Change and Continuity, p. 335f.

rites as well as for increasing the importance of the already established rites. The Brāhmaṇa-texts are very alert to give sanction to many ritual points about which objections were likely to be raised or sometime even actually raised.² Elevation was a very effective means of the sanctioning. Let us see how the elevation was brought about in the Brāhmaṇa-texts.

Connection with Soma :

In order to elevate any sacrificial rite efforts were made to show how the rite has some connection with Soma. Thus the Darśa-pūrṇamāsa sacrifices are shown to have the nature of soma sacrifice. At Pūrṇamāsa offering on the first day a cake is offered to Agni-Soma. This represents the victim to Agni-Soma on the first day of the Soma-sacrifice. On the next day, there are Agni's cake and Indra's Sāmnāyya. Agni's cake represents the morning pressing at the Soma-sacrifice because it also belongs to Agni and the Sāmnāyya represents the mid-day pressing because it also belongs to Indra. At Darśa a cake is offered to Indra and Agni on the first day. This represents the third pressing. For the third pressing is

2 For the disinclination to perform certain ritual adopted from outside see Keith, RPV, p. 474.

sacred to All Gods and Indra and Agni are the All gods. On the next day there are Agni's cake and Mitra-Varuṇas curds, Out of these the curds for Mitra-Varuṇa represents the barren cow to Mitra-Varuṇas in the some-sacrifice. Thus by performing the Darśa and Pūrṇamāsa sacrifices one gains as much as one would gain by performing the Some-sacrifice (ŚB.II.4.4.11-14). The animal sacrifice is said to have the characteristics of the Soma-sacrifice. The fore-offerings in it are the morning pressing, the after-offerings, the third pressing and the cake, the midday pressing (ŚB XI.7.2.3). ṢaḍB IV 1.6., 9-11 we find that Agnihotra is shown to have the nature of the Soma-sacrifice. Thus when the householder's fire is purified that presents the consecration (dīkṣā). When the fire is purified in the South and the eastern fire it represents the introductory offering (prāyañīyāiṣṭi), when fuel is laid on the fire that represents the upsad rites. The offering in the householder's fire is equal to the morning pressing; that in the southern fire represents the midday pressing and that into the eastern fire represents the third pressing. When the sacrificer cleanses that is the form of the Avabhṛtha-bath. The food sacrifices represent the Udayanīyā and Udavasānīyā offerings. Thus the Agnihotra is shown to be of the nature of the Soma-sacrifices. The Cāturmāsya-sacrifices contain many popular rites and seem to have originated among the ritual of the

masses. They are also connected with the Soma-sacrifice in the following manner. The gods in order to get superiority over the Asuras made the Vaiśvadeva-parvan the morning pressing, the Varunapraghāsas the midday pressing, ~~the varunapraghāsas the midday pressing~~, the Sākamedhas the third pressing and performed the Pitṛmedha and the Tryambakayāga at the third pressing (KS XXIII.7). The Cāturmāsyaś are not only the Havīryajñas but can be performed in the Soma sacrifice manner also (for the description of these soma-type Cāturmāsyaś see JB II.228 ff. TMB XVII 13.1.ff etc). There were objections as regards the nature of the Vājaneya and it seems that Vājapeya was included in the list of Soma-sacrifices very later. The Vājapeya is identified by MS I.11.5 KS XIV. 3; TB I.3.23 with the Soma and Vājapeya is thus elevated. It is worth remembering that the Vājapeya is also containing many popular rites and it was elevated by connecting with Soma.

Secrecy:

In order to give importance to a particular rite and elevate it some kind of secrecy is attached. Thus in connection with the Puruṣamedha it is said that this sacrifice is not to be taught to any or every one; lest one should teach everything to any and every one. For Puruṣamedha is equal to everything. Therefore one may teach it only to one who is known to oneself and who is versed in sacred writ and who is dear to one. (ŚB XIII 6.2.20). Thus here some kind of secrecy is attached to the puruṣamedha. In the case of

Pravargya which has also its origin in some popular rite secrecy is attached, and it is said that Pravargya is not to be taught to any and everyone but only to him who is already familiar or having sacred knowledge or very dear one. (ŚB XIV.1.1.26). Further it is said that Pravargya is to be taught to one dwelling with him as a pupil for a year. For the year is the Sun and the Pravargya is also the Sun (ŚB XIV, 1.1.27). From this it can be seen how secrecy was attached to Pravargya and it was elevated.

Performance by Gods:

In order to elevate a rite some divine connection is shown. The Upasad rite was performed by Gods and then the Gods became victorious. Therefore the performance of the Upasads leads to victory (AB I.24). The Ṣoḍaśin sacrifice is identified with Indra (KB XVII.1). The Dvādaśāha is called the session of the Gods (devasttra) and session of Prajāpati (prajāpati-sattra) (JB II.338). JB III.374 tells us how the Dvādaśāha was performed by Gods. Brhaspati was the Udgātr at that time. Go and Ayāsyā were Prastotr and Pratihartr. Prajāpati was the Grhapati. Indra was the Brāhmaṇacchamsin. Mitra and Varuṇa were Maitrā Varuṇa and so on. Then the Dvādaśāha is called 'the sacrifice of all deities' (sarvadeva-tāyajñā). The Dvādaśāha is also said to be 'the home of the Gods' (Oko vai devānāmdvādaśāhah) (TMB X.5.15). In the

Ūjapeya, there is the race of chariots which is obviously a popular rite. In the worldly practice the left horse is yoked first. But ~~there~~ the right horse is yoked first. The reason is that this is the divine way (ŚB V 1.4.7). Here the device of divinization is made to elevate the rite. The Āgrayanesti is said to be created by Gods (devasṛṣṭā) and elevated (ŚB V.2.3.9).

Connection or identification with Prajāpati:

The Brāhmaṇa texts elevate a sacrificial rite by showing its connection or identification with Prajāpati. The morning litany is called the litany of Prajāpati (AB II.17). The Dvādaśāha sacrifice is called the sacrifice of Prajāpati (AB IV.25). The stomas of Dvādaśāha are described as the powerful sons of Prajāpati (JB III 302). Ūjapeya is said to belong to Prajāpati (JB II 192,193). The Caturmāsya sacrifices are identified with Prajāpati, the twentyfour-fold year. The vaiśvadeva parva is his mouth; the new and full moon sacrifices are his joints. The days and nights are his bones and marrow. The Varuṇāpraghāṣas are his two arms. The three offerings in the Sākamedha his expiation, inspiration and cross breathing. The Great Oblation (Mahāhaviryāga) is his body. The other offerings are the deities within him. The Śunāsiriya-parvan is his foundation. Thus the Cāturmāsya are identical with Prajāpati (KB.VI.15; GB II.1.26). The

Vāmadevyā ^{to} sūtra is elevated by identifying it with Prajāpati. As all the knowledge of existence rests on Prajāpati so also all the stotras rest on the Vāmadevyā (JB III.301). Prajāpati's highest importance in Brāhmaṇa-texts and in the Brahmanical ritualism is famous. Therefore by connecting a rite with Prajāpati the Brāhmaṇa-texts elevate a sacrificial rite very effectively.

Comparative Superiority :

In order to elevate a rite it is maintained that it is superior to other rites. The Mahāvratā day is said to exceed the other days. For in it the verse in Aticchandās metre is used (TMB V.2.11). Praising the Agniṣṭoma it is said that the Agniṣṭoma is the sacrifice. Then it is added that the other sacrifices are performed for the obtainment of one particular desire; but the Agniṣṭoma is performed for all (TMB VI.1.12). Thus the superiority of the Agniṣṭoma is shown. The Soma-sacrifice is said to be superior to the Havis-sacrifice. When it is asked why there are the Pravṛtta offerings only in the Soma-sacrifice and not in the havis-sacrifice, the answer is that the Soma-sacrifice is the complete sacrifice and it belongs to the Gods (GB.II.2.17). Here indirectly the superiority of the Soma-sacrifice is suggested. ŚB V.1.1.12-13 we find how an effort is made to show that the Vājapeya is superior to the Rājasūya. The sacrificer

becomes king (Rājā) by performing the Rājasūya; but by performing the Vājapeya he becomes emperor (Samrāt). The office of the king is the lower and the office of the emperor is the higher. Thus here Vājapeya is shown to be superior to Rājasūya and is elevated.

Supremacy :

The further step in the process of elevation is to call the particular rite the supreme among all the rites. For the performance of Sarvamedha sacrifice greatest possible fire-altar is built. For the Sarvamedha sacrifice is the supreme (parama) among all the sacrificial performances (ŚB XIII.7.1.2). The Dvādaśāha sacrifice is described to be the best (śreṣṭha-yajña), for it was the best of the Gods (i.e. Prajāpati) who sacrificed with it for the first time (AB IV. 28). Agniṣṭoma is also the chief sacrifice (Īyesthayaajña). The reason is given as follows. Prajāpati created the beings. They did not yield him the supremacy. He saw the Agniṣṭoma and practised it. Then the beings yielded him the supremacy. The equal yield supremacy to him who knows this (T.B VI.e.8.10. cp. JB.1.67; II.378). Elsewhere it is said that the Trirātra is the highest (varṣiṣṭha) of all the sacrifices (JB.II.284). When the Daśarātra is performed according to the way of performance, it is the excellence (jyaisthya) of the ritual activities (JB II.392). The

Sarvajyoti sacrifice is also said to be the supreme (parama) (T.B XVI.4.2). The Ājyadoha sāmāns are called the excellent and the best among the sāmāns (Jyesthasāmāni; śreṣṭhasāmāni) (T.B XXI.2.3).

Includes (mystically) other sacrifices :

A sacrifice is shown to include many other sacrifices and then the importance of that particular sacrifice is established. Agniṣṭoma is said to include all the sacrifices in the following manner. As in the ocean all streams, so in it all the sacrificial rites are resolved. There the consecration offering is performed. Thereby all the offerings (iṣṭis) are resolved in the Agniṣṭoma. The sacrificial food is invoked. The sacrifices of cooked (food) have the form of the sacrificial food, therefore all the sacrifices of cooked (food) are resolved in the Agniṣṭoma. The fast milk is given to the sacrificer in the morning and evening. That represents the Agnihotra and so it is resolved in the Agniṣṭoma. Fifteen kindling verses are recited at the introductory offering and fifteen in the New and Full moon sacrifices. Therefore the New and Full moon sacrifices are resolved in the Agniṣṭoma. Soma, the king is bought. Soma is connected with plants. With plants healing is done. Therefore all medicines are resolved in the Agniṣṭoma. Agni is kindled by friction at the guest offering in the Agniṣṭoma so also at the Cāturmāsyas. Therefore the Cāturmāsyas are resolved in the

Agniṣṭoma. With milk ~~and~~ Pravargya is performed and with milk the Dākṣāyana sacrifice is performed. Through Pravargya, Dākṣāyana is resolved in the Agniṣṭoma. There is a victim on the fast day and through that all animal sacrifices are resolved in the Agniṣṭoma. The Idādadha rite is performed with curds. With curds the pot of curds in the Agniṣṭoma is performed. ~~Ther~~ the Idādadha is resolved in the Agniṣṭoma. There are fifteen stotras and fifteen śāstras in the Ukthya. That make up a month; By months the year is arranged. Agni Vaiśvānara is the year. The Agniṣṭoma is Agni. Through the year the Ukthya is resolved in the Agniṣṭoma. Through the resolution of Ukthya, Vājapeya is resolved for it is an Ukthya. There are twelve night rounds all in the Pañcadaśastoma; taking these by two it becomes thirty. The Ṣoḍaśin Sāman is Ekaviṃśa. The Sandhi Sāman is Trivṛt. These are thirty, the month. The nights of the month are thirty. The year consists of months. Agni Vaiśvānara is the year. The Agniṣṭoma is Agni. Through the year the Atirātra is resolved in the Agniṣṭoma. ~~Through the Atirātra is resolved in the Agniṣṭoma.~~ Through the Atirātra the Aptoryāma is resolved; for it is Atirātra. Thus all the sacrificial rites are resolved in the Agniṣṭoma (AB III.30-41; cp II 49). JB I.38 shows how by means of some difference the Agnihotra can represent the other sacrifices. When Agnihotra is performed for three days with milk, it is the form of

Agniṣṭoma. When for three days with curds, that is the form of Vājapeya. When with melted butter for three days that is a form of Aśvamedha and when for three days with waters that is the form of Puruṣamedha. At the end, on the thirteenth day a soma sacrifice or an animal sacrifice is to be performed and one may retire then from Agnihotra. JB.I.40 shows the Agnihotra including other sacrifices in the following manner. When he lifts the first sruc that is the form of Darśa and Pūrṇamāsa. When the second, that of Cātunnāsyas; when the third, that of the offerings and Animal-sacrifices; and when the fourth, that of the Tryambaka, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha (JB I.40). The fire-altar building-ceremony is said to contain many sacrifices. When an animal is slaughtered in the fire altar building, that represents the Agnyādheya; when materials for fire-pan^{are} collected that represents the oblations of the Agnyādheya. The consecratory offering represents Agnihotra. The consecrated puts two legs on the fire and this represents the two oblations of the Agnihotra. The driving about (of the fire in the pan) and taking down to the water of the ashes, these two constitute the New and Full moon offerings. When Gārhapatya hearth is built, that is the Cāturmāsya. What takes place from the building of the Garthapatya up to the sowing of the herbseed, that constitutes the Iṣṭis and what takes place after the all herbs-seeds-sowing and prior to the building of the layers that

is the animal sacrifices. The Viṣṇustrides and what muttering of formulas there is that is the Vātsapra. The first layer is the Vātsapra, second the Rājasūya, the third the Vājapeya; the fourth the Āsvamedha; and fifth the Agnisava. Sāmans sung around the built altar are the Mahāvratasāman. The Udgātr's preliminary muttering of the text of his chants is the Śatarudriya. The Vasordhārā is the Great Litany. What takes place subsequently to the singing of the Sāmans and prior to the Vasordhara that is equal to Hotr's preliminary muttering on that occasion. What takes place after the Vasordhārā, that is the Gṛhamedhas. (SB X.1.5.1 ff). Thus many sacrifices are included in the Fire-building ceremony and thus it is of great importance. About Rājasūya it is said (ŚB V.4.5.14; 5.5.11) that one who performs the Rājasūya gains for himself all sacrificial Iṣṭis, all offerings, and all the spoonful offerings. Thus we see the Rājasūya is elevated.

"All" :

A rite is identified with 'all' (sarva) for the sake of elevating it. Thus the Traidhātavī offering is identical with "all" (ŚB V.5.5.13). The Āsvamedha sacrifice (ŚB XIII.4.2.17), The Cāturmāsya-sacrifices ŚB XIV.3.2.28; KB VI.15; GB II.1.28), the Pravara (ŚB XIV.3.2.22 ff) are identified with "all" and thus they are elevated.

Possibility of many results :

In the Brāhmanatexts there is "plurality of results" i.e. one rite can give many good results to the performer of that rite. The Agnihotra can remove evils (ŚB II.3.1.6), can give freedom from death (ŚB II.3.3.7-10) and can be a ship leading to the heavenly world (ŚB II.3.3.15). Though the main result of Vājapeya is to obtain food (anna) many other results like obtainment of Prajāpati (e.g. ŚB V.1.2.7; TB I.3.6 3-4; TMB XIII.6.4; JB II.192), obtainment of heaven (ŚB V 2.1.12; TMBXVIII.7.1; GB II.5.8), Obtainment of autocracy and supremacy (TB I.3.2.1-3; cp MS.I.II.5; KS XIV.5), etc. are mentioned and lastly it is said by means of Vājapeya one obtains "all" (ŚB V.1.1.8). Similarly in the case of Cāturmāsya-sacrifices the results like possessing both the arms (in good condition) in the next world (TB I.6.4.2); reaching the highest place, the supreme goal (ŚB II.6.4.9) etc. are mentioned. This attribution of various results is of course for elevating a sacrificial rite.

Concluding observations:-

(1) In the Brāhmanaperiod we find the tendency of establishing the sacrifices firmly and for that purpose the Brāhmana-texts try to elevate a sacrificial rite.

(2) For this they used various devices like connecting the rite with Soma, attaching secrecy, giving divine connection etc.

(3) In this process many popular rites are elevated and they have obtained an important place in the Śrautaritual.

(4) Thus by elevating some rites the Brāhmaṇa-texts have made a very significant progress in the development and growth of the sacrifice.

(A) Cāturmāsyā - SacrificesIntroduction :

Among the sacrifices listed in the seven Haviryajñas¹ Cāturmāsyā-sacrifices are the most complicated and containing a remarkable number of the traces of popular rites.² Moreover, the exact significance of the Cāturmāsyā-sacrifices as well as of the rites involved in it is also vague. It is a well-known fact that in the vedic ritual of the "classes", many rites of the "masses" are accepted and they are given colour of the high vedic ritual. These rites are praised in a very effective way and finally they are elevated to the highest position. Really speaking, the acceptance of such popular rites of the masses in the sphere of the rites of the classes itself is a kind of elevation and in this connection the Cāturmāsyās deserve particular attention. Let us now see what was the original and principal significance of the Cāturmāsyā-sacrifices and the rites involved in them and how various other significances came to be attached to the Cāturmāsyā-sacrifices and also to see the process of the elevation of these sacrifices.

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1. For the list of the Haviryajñas see GB I.6.7; and 23; Drāhyāśś XIII.4.16 etc.
 2. Hillebrandt, Ritualitteratur, p.116, A.B.Keith, VBYT. p.cv.

A brief summary of the Cāturmāsya sacrifices³

The Cāturmāsya are divided in the four parts called parvans: (i) Vaiśvadeva, (ii) Varuṇapraghāsa, (iii) Sākamedha and (iv) Śunāsīrīya⁴. The first is to be performed on the full-moon-day of the Phālguna, the second on the full-moon-day of the Āṣāḍha, the third on the full-moon-day of the Kārttika and the fourth of the first bright day of the Phālguna.

3 For the description of the Cāturmāsya-Sacrifices see TS I.8.2-7, MS I.10.1 ff; KS XXXVI.1 ff, KB V.1 ff; GB II.1.19 ff (very similar and somewhat identical to the relative portion in KB). ŚB II.5.1.1 ff; V.2.3. 10 ff TB I.4.9.1 ff; 6.2.1 ff; Weber, Indische Studien, X.337 ff; Hillebrandt, Rituallitteratur, p.115 ff, #. Oldenber⁹ Religion des Veda. 441 ff, A.B. Keith, VBYT p.cv. RPV p. 321 ff; P.V.Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra II.2 Poona, 1941, p. 1091 ff Cāturmāsya-jña paricaya Mīmāṃsāvidyālaya, Poona 1956. Heesterman, Consecration p.27 ff; Gonda, Religionen Indiens, I, p.146 F.

4 The fourth parvan Śunāsīrīya is not recognised when only at times, three parvans are mentioned. see e.g. MS I. 10.5; KS XXXV.20; KPKS XLVIII.18. For the likely independent existence of the Śunāsīrīya see Heesterman, Consecration, p.27.

In the Vaiśadeva-parvan a sacrificial cake on eight potsherds to Agni, pap to Soma, a cake on eight or twelve potsherds to Savitr̥, pap to Sarasvatī, pap to Maruts or Maruts Svataṁvats, payasyā to Viśvedevas and a cake on one, potsherd to Dyāvāpr̥thivyaṁ are offered.

In the Varuṇaprayhāsa-parvan the first five offerings of the Vaiśadeva-parvan are common. In addition to them a cake on twelve potsherds to Indra and Agni, āmikṣā to varuṇa, āmikṣā to Marut and a cake on one potsherd to Ka are offered. In addition to these there the offerings of the karambhas and an ewe made of the barley are also offered. Before this, there is the confession of the sacrificer's wife about how many paramours she has. In the end there is the avabhṛtha-bath in the same way as there is an avabhṛtha bath at the end of a Soma sacrifice.

In the third, viz. the Sākamedha-parvan, on the first day a cake on eight potsherds to Agni Ahīkavat in the morning pap to Maruts Sāmtapanas in the noon; and pap cooked in milk to Maruts Gr̥hamedhins in the evening are offered. Next day in the morning there is the Darvī-homa. Then a cake on seven potsherds to Maruts Krīḍins and pap to Aditi are offered. Then the first five offerings in the Vaiśadeva-parvan added by the offerings of a cake on twelve potsherds pap to Mahendra and a cake on one potsherd to Viśvakarman are made. In the

afternoon there is the Pitṛyajña in which Pitaras Samavānts or Soma Pitṛmat, Pitars Barhiṣads and Pitars Agniṣvāta are the deities. Then there is the Tryambakeṣṭi.

In the fourth viz. the Śunāsīriya-parvan, the first five offerings of the Vaiśyadevaparvan are made with the addition of the offerings of a Śunāsīriya on twelve potsheds, milk or yavāgū to Vāyu and a cake on one potsherd to Sūrya.

The significance of the Cāturmāsya:

Most of the modern authorities e.g. Joanson⁵ Meyer⁶ Gonda⁷ Heesterman⁸ etc. have connected the rites in the Cāturmāsya-sacrifices with fertility, generation etc.

5 Johanson Dhisanā Upsala, 1917, e.g.p.62.

6 Meyer Trilogie, III.255 describes Varunapraghāsa as the fertility rite, p. 256 as a rainmagic, Johnson and Meyer have, however, treated only the Varunapraghāsa and not the Cāturmāsya-sacrifices completely.

7 Gonda, "The vedic concept of Āṇas" II J, I. p.46 in connection with the Varunapraghāsa only.

8 Heesterman, Consecration, connects the Cāturmāsya which occur in the Rājasūya with the generation p. 28 f.

But our discussion here will show that the Cāturmāsyā-sacrifices are mainly connected with 'healing, curing', etc. The connection with the fertility and generation is of course supported by some vedic evidences themselves. But that seems to be an after-thought and we will see that the significances of the Cāturmāsyās were increased in number and many other results are also said to be obtained by means of the Cāturmāsyā-sacrifices. We have to fix our attention on the direct mention of the nature of the Cāturmāsyās - and that concerns healing, curing etc. The other ideas may be said to be a later appendage or addition.

The Cāturmāsyā-sacrifices are called bhaisajya-yajñas (KB V.I. GB II.1.19) The main significance of the sacrifices becomes clear from the remark "therefore they are performed in the joinings of the seasons (ṛtusandhi). For in the joinings of the seasons disease is born" (added by KB V.I. and GB II.1.19)⁹ It is a well known fact that when there is some change in the climate it is likely to cause and spread diseases. Accordingly in another context JB. I.247 remarks - 'There are six mouths of the death,

9 Bhaisajyayajña vā etc - yac cāturmāsyāni. Tasmāṛtu-sandhisu prayujyante, Ṛtusandhisu hi vyādhir jāyate.

viz. the season themselves (sad mṛtyor mukhāni rtava eva); cf. JB I.246 also. Similarly in a popular verse it is said "Autumn is the mother of the physicians. Spring is their father. 'Jaws of Yama (yamadamstrā) the last days of the Āśvina and the whole Kārttika considered as a period of general sickness) is their sister, and their enemy is one who eats whatever is good for the body and of limited quantity.¹⁰ Thus the connection of the seasons and diseases is here clearly suggested. The Cāturmāsya-sacrifices which are performed in the 'joinings of the seasons' should, therefore be said to be primarily connected with healing.

The diseases are often supposed to be connected with evil beings¹¹ like Rakṣas and Asuras. Thus KB X.5 says, 'Evil beings attach to him who is diseased (rakṣāṁśy-etaṁ sacante va āmayāvi). The gods defeated Asuras by means of Cāturmāsya. (TB I 4.9.3) ⁹Arājāpati also saw the Cāturmāsya and removed Asuras (LS I 10.5; KS XXXV.20; KPKS XLVII.18). Now JE I.81 reads, Svarbhānu a son of an Asura, pierced the sun with darkness. To him (the sun) the gods

10 Vaidyānām Śārādī mātā pitā ca kusumākarah yamadamstrā svasā proktā hitabhūṁ mitabhūṁ ripuh. For the word yamadamstrā see Monier-Williams, Sanskrit English Dictionary, p. 846.

11 For the idea of diseases as evil beings see James Hastings (ed.) ERE IV.729 a.

and seers cured (svārbhānūr vā āsura ādityāṁ tāmāśāvidhyat
tāṁ devāścarsayāścābhiśajyan). Here the use of the word
abhiśajyan is important and it shows that the attack of the
Asuras is nothing but the disease and the removal of the
Asuras means the removal of the disease. So the Cāturmāsya
were used by Gods as well as Prajāpati, according to the
Brāhmaṇas for removing diseases.

We shall see how there are numerous traces of the
idea of healing in the various rites involved in the
Cāturmāsya-sacrifices.

Vaiśvadevaparvan :

Though there are no traces of popular rites in the
Vaiśvadeva-parvan there is some evidence to show the
relation of Vaiśvadeva-parvan with healing or curing. The
Vaiśvadeva-offerings are called Vārtraghna i.e. killing
Vṛtra (MS I.10.5; KS XXXV.5; KPKS XLVIII.18). Now Vṛtra
is identified with the Pāpman more than once (ŚB XI.
1.5.7; XIII 4.1.13). We shall see in our discussion about
Varuṇapraghāsa, how Pāpman and disease are conceptually
identical according to the Brāhmaṇa-texts. In the other
offerings for curing also there is the part of the deities
to which the offerings are made in the Vaiśvadeva. Thus
e.g. from TB III.9.17ff we know how the offerings are
made to Agni, Soma and Savitr and how the sacrificer cures

(bhīṣajyati) the horse when the horse is suffering from the disease named upatapat. The horse then becomes diseaseless (agada). Further if the horse is suffering from some skin disease then an offering is made to Pūṣan. Thus we know that Agni¹² Soma,¹³ Śavitr̥ and Pūṣan have the curing capacities. For Sarasvatī as having part in the curing see MS II.3.5; 4.1

As regards the offering to Maruts Svataavats KB V.2 comments 'In that he sacrifices to Maruts Svataavats, the Maruts Svataava⁺s are terrible (ghora); verily thus he makes healing (bhīṣajyam eva kurute). TB I.6.2.3 understands that this offering to Maruts is for safety (literally- not killing¹⁴) of the animals (paśūnām aghātāya). For the explanation of this TB has given a story ; When offsprings were created by Prajāpati Maruts killed them. (I.6.2.2.) Thus Maruts are themselves like disease, death etc. and an offering to them is obviously for the purpose of ^hhealing.

12 For other examples of Agni having curing capacity see MS II.3.1; TS II. 1.2.7. One third of the curing body of Asving is in Agni Cf. KS XXVII.4.

13 For other example of Soma having curing capacity see TS II.1.2.7; 2.10.4.5;

14 For this negative expression used to denote some positive idea see Gonda, Four studies, "why are ahimsā and similar concepts often expressed in a negative form" p. 95 ff.

Varunapraghāsaparvan :

In the Varunapraghāsa, the rite in which there is the confession of the wife is very important and it seems to be of popular origin. Before going to the rite it is necessary to note a few points here.

Disease as a punishment:

The idea of the disease as a punishment¹⁵ for breaking

- 15 For the idea of disease as a punishment in other societies see Hastings ERE IV. 740 a, b. "The conception of disease as punishment for the known or unknown sins and offences of the individual the family, or the community is widespread and is not confined to any particular stage of culture either in the Old World or in the New." For the idea of Varuṇa punishing those who break the order in the form of disease see Filliozat, La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne, p. 79 etc. For God's anger, sickness, impurity, sin etc. amounting the same, see G. Van der Leeuw, REM p. 520. For the details of which sin causes which disease see e.g. Manusmṛti (XI.49 ff). Sātātapaśmṛti gives a list of sins and their corresponding diseases along with the expiating rites. For the disease and sin connection see also Vasiṣṭhaśmṛti VI.6, XX.48 ff. Likhitasmṛti 61;

the rule norm, agreement, oath etc. or in other words for any anṛta sin etc. is often found in the vedic texts. Thus the famous story of Sunahśepa may be remembered here, in which king Hariścandra suffered from disease as a punishment from Varuṇa for breaking his agreement (AB VII.13 ff). Again the famous story of soma and Prajāpati and his daughters may be recalled here. "Prajāpati had thirty-three daughters. He gave them to Soma, the king. Of them, he (Soma) associated with Rohini. They (the other daughters) returned in anger, then Soma followed them and asked them back. Prajāpati did not

Laghuhāritasmṛti 75 ff; Harītasamhitā (in JA, 1934, p.125 ff); Atrismṛti IV.2; Yājñavalkyasmṛti III.209 ff; Madana pārijāta IX.701 f and the works like Madanamahārṇava, Sāragrāhakaṃmavipāka, Vīrasīmhāvaloka, Vivāgasuya etc. cf. also Jolly, Medicin, p.5; Y.G.Dikṣit Āryavaiśyaka-lākhidhi athavā ārogyarakṣanācā māhitagār 223 ff; for diseases as a punishment of Vyabhicāra (adultery) cf. Manusmṛti IX.30. Vyabhicārāt tu bhartuḥ strī loke prāp-
noti nindyatām srgālayoniḥ cāpnoti pāparogaiś ca pīdyate; in the Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha (Nidānasthāna) adhyāya I, we get a description of the origin of diseases. According to this description when all the people had the power of punya, were religious completely, then there was no disease; but when they began to behave against the dharma then the disease took place.

return them. He said "Swear on oath that thou wilt equally associate (with them); then will I return them to you". He took an oath (ṛtam āmit) and Prajāpati returned them. He (Soma) associated with Rohiṇī alone. Then illness (yakṣman) seized him (TS II.3.5.ff, of MS II 2.7, KS XI.3).

A very similar story occurs elsewhere. The nights of the half month were the wives of king Soma. Of these he did not approach the new moon night and the full moon night. They grasped him about and illness (Yakṣman) seized him (TS II.5.6 4-5). For disease as a punishment see also JB III.77.

Varuna's punishment = disease :

Varuna punishes any beings that go against him. Thus while reading the origin of the Varunapraghāṣas, we know "By means of Vaisvadeva sacrifice Prajāpati created the offsprings. They being created but not born, ate the barley of Varuna.¹⁶ Varuna grasped them with Varuna's nooses. The offsprings having run up to the Father Prajāpati said 'Do thou devise that sacrificial rite by which we may sacrifice

16 Barley is allotted to Varuna. of KS X.4: etad vai varunasya bhāgadheyam yad yavāḥ KS XXXVI.6: Varunyo vai yavāḥ Varuna-devatyah ŚB II 5.2.1, IV 2.1.11: Varunyo yavāḥ. Meyer, Trilogie, III.217 f.

and be free from Varuṇa's nooses,¹⁷ from all ill. Then Prajāpati saw this sacrificial rite and sacrificed with it. having sacrificed with it he delighted Varuṇa. Varuṇa being delighted freed offsprings from all evil (Pāpman)" (KB V.3 GB II.1.21 of also MS I.10.10 KS XXVI 5. ŚB II.5. 2.1-4; V 2. 4.2 JB II 231) Somewhat different but with the same motif of Varuṇa punishing those who dishonour him texts are TB I 6.4.1 ff; MS II.5.6; KS XIII.2, ŚB II.5, 2.3 expressly uses the word abhisajyat 'cured' in the context of making free the offsprings from Varuṇa's nooses, in which they were caught because they ate Varuṇa's barley. JB II 231 uses the word abhisajyāni. Thus Prajāpati says 'may I cure these beings', cf. the expression of KS XXVI.5 bhesajam aicchat (Prajāpati) desired a medicine for curing the offsprings. Thus here the Varuṇa's nooses are obviously understood as some disease. Accordingly Hillebrandt¹⁸

17 To eat whatever that is not worthy to be eaten is to make a sin (Pāpa) by means of belly. see JB II.135 eṣa ha vā udarena pāpam karoti yo'nāsyannasyānamatti. This pāpa is obviously some disease which will follow by eating something unworthy. Cf. KS XXXVI.5 jagdhād vai varuṇa grhṇāti ('Through whatever is eaten Varuṇa catches').

18 Vedische Mythologie, Hildesheim, 1965, II.p.23

has remarked about Varuṇa's nooses "Seine [†]of genannte Fessel
 1st nicht nur die Wassersucht; Krankheit aller Art und
 selbst der tod suchen den heim, der Varuṇa's Zorn verfällt.
 Thus the nooses are equal to disease and freeing from them
 is equal to curing. This curing was done by means of Varuṇa-
 praghāṣas.

The idea of disease is often mentioned as being "caught
 by Varuṇa".¹⁹ Thus the expression one who is diseased
 (āmayāvī) is caught by Varuṇa (Varuṇa-grhīto vā eṣa ya āmayāvī)
 occurs sometimes. See for example MS II.1.2; KS X.4; XII.1.2
 etc. KSXIII.6 says, when a disease (yakṣama) takes hold of an
 ill man, it is Varuṇa who takes hold of him (Varuṇo vā enaṁ
grhṇāti yaṁ vye (O. ?) mānaṁ yakṣmo grhṇāti).²⁰ Thus being
 caught by Varuṇa is also the same as to be diseased²¹ and

19 Meyer, Trilogie, III.306 (in the note)

20 Cf. L. Schroeder, ZDMG XLIX, p. 168-169 where the different
 readings are discussed. Schroeder referring to Patañjali
 and Kāśikā on Paṇini VI.4.120 accepts the reading
 'vyemānam' meaning "an ill man" and remarks that Vyomānam
 is meaningless.

21 According to JB I.96, however, "who is diseased is
 caught by Agni and Varuṇa" and thus Agni is additionally
 mentioned. It is interesting further that MS II.2.1 says

it follows that Varuṇa and disease are identical.

Varuṇa is not only identical with the disease but he is also identified with the death KS XII.2 (mṛtyur vai varuṇaḥ)

The above texts will show how to break some norm, go against rta etc., i.e. any sin is connected with the disease. This sin²² and disease relation is based on the idea that sin causes disease. But to the vedic texts they are just identical. Thus KS XIII.2 and 7 read, "Caught by the evil (sin etc. pāpman) is one who is diseased (pāpmanā-esa grhīto ya āmayāvī).

The similarity in treatment of mistakes, sins, disease etc. in the Vedic ritual has been noted by Oldenberg who remarks "So^{wiv} ja im Vedaritual überhaupt Sünde aller Art wie ein Krankheitstoff weggewaschen, fortgeschwemmt, weggebrannt,

"Agni is the form of the death (mṛtyor etad rūpam yad agniḥ)" Cf. also KPKS XXXI.1 "Death verily is Agni (mṛtyur vā agniḥ).

- 22 For the concept of disease as the consequence of the sin in the ideologies of other societies see Hastings, ERE. IV. 754^b, 757^b etc. For the concept of disease as the consequence of robbery or similar crime see IV. 725a.

mit einem wot fort gezaubert.²³ Keith also remarks similiary
 "The evil in fact is treated prefisely like a disease and is
 to be dealt with in just the same manner.²⁴ To be diseased,
 to be sinful, to be caught, either by Varuṇa's nooses or by
 Varuṇa himself etc. all there ideas are conceptually one and
 the same. Cf. MS II.5.6.; IV 3.7 : Varuṇea vāṛṣa pāpmanā
grhītaḥ athaitasva jyogāmayati.

Being free from sin = disease = Varuṇa's nooses etc.

Now being from sin, diesease, Varuṇa's nooses, Varuṇa,
 anṛta, or pāpman etc. all these ideas also are not different.
 Thus the reason why in the Varuṇapṛaghasa the unreal animals
 viz. a ram and an ewe made out of flour are used is that
 thereby the members of the family are freed from Anṛta, from
 Varuṇa (anṛtaḍ avainā varuṇān muñcati. KS XXXVI 6).

Similarly in many other offerings meant for curing,
 the words meaning "to be free from Varuṇa's nooses" or "to
 be free from Varuṇa" are used. Thus one who is diseased
 should offer a barley pap to Varuṇa and a cake on twelve
 potsherds to Agnivaśvānarau. As the result of the pap to
 Varuṇa, it is said that one becomes ^{free} from Varuṇa. (KS X.4;

23 Weltanschauung, p. 209. For the enas as disease see
 also p. 189.

24 Keith, RPV I, p.265.

MS II.1.2.) . It is now for us to understand that he becomes free from Varuṇa means from disease.

MS II.3.1 prescribes a cake on eight potsherds to Agni and payasyā to Mitra and Varuṇa if the sacrificer is a Brāhmaṇa; to Indra and Varuṇa if the sacrificer is a Rājanya and to Agni and Varuṇa if he is a Vaiśya. Thereby the sacrificer becomes free from Varuṇa and it means from the disease. The similar text in KS XII.1 omits the cake to Agni TS (II.3.13.1-2) prescribes this same offering which is in MS for the sacrificer caught by pāpman. It is noteworthy that while MS and KS directly mention the sacrificer as āmayāvī i.e. diseased, TS uses the word 'caught by evil (papmanāgrhītaḥ). This supports our observation that disease, anṛta, pāpman etc. are conceptually the same and phrases like being free from Varuṇa or Varuṇa's nooses as the result of the offering show that these also mean the same as the disease etc.

The confession of the wife:

In the Varuṇapraghāsa, there is a rite²⁵ in which the

25 see for this e.g. Weber IS X 338f; Hillebrandt, Rituallitteratur p.117, Oldeberg, Religion des des Veda, p. 320 etc.

priest Pratiprasthātr asks the sacrificer's wife: "With whom holdest thou intercourse ? (ŚB II.5.2.20 Kena carasi). The[^] she mentions the name or names of the paramour or paramours. If she has none then she tells that she has none. Kātyā V.5.7 adds that if she feels shy to mention the paramour, she holds up as many stalks of grass as many paramours she has. Then the paramours become caught by Varuṇa. ŚB remarks "When a woman belonging to one (man) carries on intercourse with another, she undoubtedly commits (a sin) against Varuṇa... when confessed, the sin becomes less. And whatever she confesses not that indeed will turn out injurious to her relatives" (ŚB II 5.2.20).²⁶ According to TB I.6.5.2, MS I 10.1, KS XXXVI.5. the priest makes the wife purified (medhyā) by asking this question.

This rite is described by Winternitz as a 'brutaler Opferbrauch' throwing a glaring light upon the sexual morality of that period.²⁷ Johanson sees in it an ...

26 Varuṇyaṁ vā etat svīkaroti yadanvasya satī anyena carati niruktaṁ vā enaḥ kaṇīyo bhavati satyaṁ bhavati tasmādeva prechatī. Sā yan na pratijānīta jñatibhyo hāsyaitadahitaṁ syāt. cf. MS I.10.11, KS XXXVI.5.

27 Winternitz, GIL I.p, 180; Ø. Levi, La doctrine du sacrifice p. 157 had also recognized the 'brutality' here.

'ursprunglicher fruchtbarkeitszauber'²⁸ and describes it as a popular remain. Meyer also understands it to be a fertility rite and gives the example of the Betschauan people among whom in a ceremony before the crop the wife is asked whether she has been unfaithful to her husband.²⁹ Keith gives this rite as an example of 'brutal morality of the priests' and sees an insult of the wife here.³⁰

The Confession is for curing :

It is, however, important to note that confession is a means of purification³¹ and is supposed to be a means of curing. I cite from the James Hastings ~~RE~~ ERE, VI, p.734 b 'The medicine man gives 'pretended emetic' to one whose breaking of some tabu is manifested by pains, sickness, misfortune. Confession itself effects a deliverance; sin and evil consequences are lessened by confession'. That the

28 Johanson, Dhisana. p.62.

29 Meyer, Trilogie, III. 255 f.

30 Keith, RPV, p. 475.

31 For the confession of women and thereby purification among the Huichol Indians of Mexico see Frazer, The Golden bough, p. 23-24. For the confession leading to purification see J.v.der Leeuw, REM, p.442 cf. Manusmṛti (XI.227f), Viṣṇusmṛti 28 48 f; Sankhasmṛti

confession is used as a means of curing is also mentioned in the ERE V. 636. Elsewhere in the verses of confession prayer is made thus:

"remove the evil sickness from my body.

take away whatever is evil of my flesh and my sinews³²

This is how a Babilonian prayer goes on which is of the nature of confession and a prayer is made there for curing.

In another prayer the speaker confesses -

The forbidden thing of my god I have ~~catch~~ ...
and he further says -

" A known or unknown god hath opressed me. A known or unknown goddess hath caused me pain". This makes us remember how the offsprings ate the barley of Varuṇa and Varuṇa caught them i.e. they became ill.

In another Babilonian prayer of confession³³ the speaker says - 'My god, my sins are seven times seven free me from my sins'. This makes us remember AV.IV 16.6 yé te pásā varuṇa sap̄tāsap̄ta tredhā tīsthanti vīsitā rūsantah

XVII.62; Saṁvartasmṛti 114; Brhadyamasṛti 5; Laghu-śātātāpasṛti 2; Vasisthasṛti XX.37 f.

32 ERE, III.826a.

33 ERE, III.826b.

chināntu sārve ānrtam vādantam yāḥ satyāvādyaṭi tāṁ srjantū

Here, seven times, seven nooses of Varuṇa are mentioned and one who is a 'speaker of truth (saty^avādī)' is prayed to be spared from the nooses. This also refers to the confession as a means of curing. The sin (which leads to disease) is lessened and becomes truth when confessed as in Varuṇapraghāsa (ŚB II.5.2.20 niruktaṁ vā enaḥ kaniyo bhavati satyam bhavati). When the sin is removed naturally the disease will also be removed (for rta and satya as a medicine see ŚaḍB IV.5.2).

Thus it can be seen that the sacrificer's wife when she confesses her sin becomes magically redeemed. The disease, like sin or the debt, can be transferred and the paramour whose name is mentioned by the sacrificer's wife becomes caught by Varuṇa's nooses i.e. he becomes diseased. (Cf. TB. I 6.5.2 - Varuṇapāśenaiyainam grāhavati Cf. also Baudhā's V.7, Bhār's VIII.9.5, Mā's I.7.4.11).

Further rites in the Varuṇa-praghāsa :

The confession rite cures the sacrifice's wife. For the curing of other members of the family the following rite is observed. After the confession, the wife offers³⁴ the

34 Meyer Trilogie III. 266.

Karambhapātras which are as many as there are members, in the family added by one. This additional one is for the sake of those who are not yet born. When these are offered, all the persons born as well as unborn (or yet to be born) become free from Varuṇa's nooses i.e. from the disease. (See ŚB II.5.2.22; TB I.6.4.5) MS I.10.11 and KS XXXVI.6 use expressions meaning 'sacrificially removing (ava-yaj) amhas³⁵ and 'freeing from Varuṇa.' This also ultimately amounts to making free from physical distress, evil, disease etc.

Along with the offerings of the Karambhapātras there are the ram and the ewe made of the remaining flour of the Karambhapātras. The ram and the ewe are placed in the payasyā and are offered.³⁶ ŚB II.5.2.16 says that the ram is an animal of Varuṇa and by using it the offsprings are freed from Varuṇa's nooses, i.e. they are cured. According to MS I 10,11, KS XXXVI.6 the amhas is sacrificially removed from the animals and it seems that these texts use the offering of the ram and ewe for curing the animals also.

Varuṇa is not only connected with the disease, he is also connected with the curing. He has a hundred physicians. Indra when desired to be strong and firm, he

35 For the concept of amhas see Gonda III, I, p. 33 ff

For amhasah avesti in the Varuṇapraghāsa, see p.48.

36 Johanson, Shizabā, connects this with fertility (p.62).

offered a cake to Varuṇa who is with a hundred physicians (śatabhisaj) and to the medicines (bheṣaja). Then Indra became strong and firm (See TB III.1.5.9). In the Avabhṛtha bath at the end following words are uttered 'O king Varuṇa a hundred are your physicians, a thousand (śataṁ te rājan bhisajāḥ sahasraṁ RV.I.24.9; TS I.4.45.1; VI.6.5.2; MS I. e.39; IV.8.5; KS IV.13; XXIX.3; ĀPŚS VIII.7.25 MāŚS I.4.36 etc). Thus the Avabhṛtha bath has also some healing capacities and it is attached to the Varunapraghāsa for the same purpose of healing or curing.

Sākamedha-parvan :

Let us see the traces of curing in the Sākamedha-parvan. The offspring were freed from varuṇa's nooses by prajāpati. Then he gave them a firm foundation (Pratyasthāpayat) by means of the Sākamedha. The sacrificer also gives firm foundation (pratiṣṭhā) to the beings by means of Sākamedha (TB.I.6.8.1). The idea of pratiṣṭhā has some connection with the curing according to the Vedic texts. Thus TMB XVI. 13.4 remarks "without a firm foundation is he who is suffering from a disease (apratīṣṭhito vā eṣa ya āmayatī)". So to give pratiṣṭhā is to cure and therefore as the Sākamedha-parvan is connected with giving pratiṣṭhā it is connected with the curing. To this we may add JB. II.232 where it is

said, while the offsprings were being freed from Varuṇa, Vṛtra the Pāpman caught them. We (Prajāpati) thought 'well I shall cure (^abhiṣajyāni) them from this. He saw the Sākamedhas of the three days. He brought them, sacrificed with them and freed the offsprings from Vṛtra, the pāpman. Where one performs the Sākamedhas of three days one frees the offsprings from Vṛtra, the pāpman. The pāpman as we have seen is the disease and the use of the word ^abhiṣajyāni also suggests that the Sākmedhas have some connection with the curing.

In the Sākamedhaparvan we find that Maruts with their various aspects receive offerings. Thus there are the offerings to (i) Maruts Śāntapana, (ii) the Maruts Kṛīḍins, and (iii) Maruts or Maruts Svataṇvats (in the five offerings common to the Vaiśvadevaparvan. Now the popular character of Maruts is famous.³⁷ Maruts, among the Gods, are not the oblation-caters. (ahutādo vai devānām marutaḥ) (ŚB IV 5.2.16). Maruts are, further often identified with the people (viṇ marutaḥ TS.III.5.7.2. MS.I.10.6; KS X.11 etc).

36 ~~Johanson, Dhisana, p.62 has connected this offering with fertility.~~

37 see e.g. in R.N.Dandekar 'Rudra in the Veda' in JUPHS vol. I. p. 120.

Maruts are, next connected with the death etc. and they must have been originally the spirits of the dead.³⁸ We have already seen in the Vaiśvadeva-parvan how Maruts are called ghora, how they killed offsprings, and how for the sake of safety (aghāta) a cake is offered to them. It seems, therefore, that the reference to Maruts in the Sākamedhaparvan has also some hidden significance towards curing, healing, etc. For by pleasing the causes of the diseases by means of offerings to them it is hoped that they may be removed and one will become free from diseases.

Traces of curing in the Pitryajña.

In the Sākamedha-parvan after the Mahāhaviryāga Pitryajña is performed. The offerings to the fathers, and the piṇḍadāna in particular, belong originally to the popular cult as has been rightly noticed by Arbmann.³⁹ Here we want to see how the Pitryajña has some relation with the curing or healing which is the chief and original function of the Cāturmāsya-sacrifices.

The departed ancestors are often identified with the ṛtus. Thus e.g. ṛtayo vai pitarah (ŚB II.6.1.32) ṛtavah

38 see e.g. Meyer Trilogie, III.141.

39 Arbman, Rudra, p. 79.

pitarah (KB V.7; ŚB II.6.1.42; GB.II.1.24); Pitaro vā
ṛtavah (MS I.10.17) Pitara ṛtavah (KS XXI .12). We have
 already shown the connection of the ṛtus with the disease⁴⁰
 and death. It naturally follows that thus the ancestors
 are connected with the disease and death. The dead ancestors
 are the subjects of Yama (cf ŚB XIII.1.3.4 - yamo vaivasvato
rājāityāha tasya pitare viśah)

In the performance of the Pitṛyajña the following
 traces of curing are found. 'The Prayājas (fore-offerings)
 are without the barhis. For offsprings are equal to barhis.
 Thereby offsprings are removed from death' (TB.I.6.9.2.
 'apabarhiṣah prayājān yajati prajā vai barhiḥ vai mṛtyor
utsrjati). The same significance is attached to the anuyājas
 (after-offerings) which are also without barhis (TB I.6.9.
 10)⁴¹ The reasons why the two ājyabhāgas (butter-portions)
 are offered with the word meaning 'living' is that the
 sacrificer is thereby made to live (KB V.7.; GB.II.1.25).
 Further in that they cleanse themselves with the water
 in the place where the filters are, and the waters are

40 For the disease ascribed to the ancestral spirit
 cf. ERE, I. 429a; cf. also ERE. VIII. 24.

41 cp. for both prayājas and anuyājas KB V.7.

healing and medicine verily thus at the end healing and medicine is produced (KB.V.7 - Atha yat pavitravati mārjayante śāntir vai bheṣajam āpaḥ śāntir evaiśā bheṣajam antataḥ kriyate cf. GB II.1.25). Here the medicinal significance is clearly mentioned. During the Pitryajña the sacrificer's wife does not sit behind the gārhapatya as she normally does, and in the Pitryajña, the patnīsam yājas are not offered. If these are done, then the wife is likely to die. In order to protect her these things (i.e. the patnīsam yājas) are not done (TB I.6.9.10).

The Tryambakahaviryāga which follows the Pitryajña is very important from our point of view. In this Tryambakahaviryāga as many cakes as many there are the members in the family added by one for those yet to be born are prepared. The offerings are to be made to Rudra on the cross-way. The additional cake is buried in a mole-hill. After returning from the mole hill all members walk thrice round the altar beating their thighs. The sacrificer then takes the remains of the cakes into his joined palms and throws them upward higher than a cow can reach. Having then placed them into two net-work baskets and tied them to the ends of either a bamboo staff or of a beam of a balance the sacrificer goes to the north and fastens them to a tree on a stake or a bamboo or an anthill. The sacrificer

and the priests then come back without looking backward and touch the water.

In this rite obviously having popular shades, we get some traces of curing. 'The gods removed 'Rudra' by means of this Tryambakayāga and the sacrificer also removes Rudra by means of it' (TB I.6.8.1). Now, Rudra is famous for bringing disease. Rudra himself is the disease in the point of view of ritual texts. The autumn (śarad) in which the Śākamedha and in it the Tryambakayāga are performed is a period very famous for the disease. Blanford says "The period which immediately follows the rains upto October is the most unhealthy season in the year"⁴². Thus MS I.10.20 remarks "Autumn is the womb of Rudra. Therefore he kills very much in the autumn...(tasmād vā eṣa śaradi bhūyīṣṭham hanti)".^{cf.} KS XXXVI.14. TB I.6.10.4. says that the autumn is Ambikā, sister of Rudra (cf. KS XXXVI.14) and by means of her Rudra kills. Rudra is thus the same as the disease. Further Rudra is connected with the death⁴³ and therefore, as we shall see, he is prayed to save from death.

42 Blanford, A practical guide to the climate and weather of India etc. p. 129 referred to by Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie, II.446.

43 For Rudra as a death god see Dandekar JUPHS I.p.118

Rudra, however, has a double character viz. 'maleficent demon' and 'beneficent physician'.⁴⁴ He is the "médecin divin" "le plus médecin des médecins"⁴⁵ (Bhīṣajām bhiṣaktama RV II.33.4) He is connected with both the disease and healing.⁴⁶ KB V.1 and GB.II.1.25 give the significance of Tryambakayāga as to delight Rudra (yat tryambakaiscaranti rudram eva tat svāyām diśi prīṇayanti). Thus by removing Rudra's anger and by pleasing him healing is made. Oldenberg rightly connects the Tryambakayāga with the healing when he says, "Neben der Todtenfeter aber steht ein ⁺oper an Rudra Tryambaka, den gefährlichen bogenführenden Gott dessen Angriffe man von sich und den Heerden [↑]entfernen, dessen heilende Kraft man sich ~~Zu~~wenden will"⁴⁷

Now let us see how the vedic texts themselves interpret the rites in the Tryambakahaviryāga. The reason why ^{as many} ~~it~~ are prepared ^{as many} sacrificial cakes as there are members in the family is that thereby all the members that are born are

44 Dandekar, JUPHS, I.p.96

45 A.Bergaigne, La religion Védique d'après les hymnes du Rgveda, III.p.22.

46 Cf. Oldenberg, Religion des veda, p.220 where we read "Die Macht des Gottes Äussert sich in Krankheit, die er sendet, aber auch in Heilung." Cf. also Keith RPV, p.143.

47 Oldenberg, Religion der veda, p. 442

freed from Rudra and by means of the preparation of the additional one those members still unborn are freed. (TB I.6.101; SB II,6.2.2.4; cf KS XXXVI.14). The offering is made on the crossway for it is the favourite hunt of Rudra. (ŚB II 6.2.7; cf. MS I.10.20; KS XXXVI.14). The result of burying the additional cake is that the animals are freed from Rudra. (ŚB II.6.2.10; MS I.10.20; KS XXXVI.14), Another significance attached to the burying is to free the unborn offsprings from Rudra (ŚB II.6.2.10). Returning to the fire the words are muttered in which the following words occur - 'Thou (O Rudra), are the medicine for the ox (or cow), a medicine for the horse, a medicine for the man, a blessing for the ram and ewe (bheṣajam asi, bheṣajam gave aśvāya puruṣāya bheṣajam sukham meṣāya meṣyai; Kāṣ KS VIII.10). 'Medicine for ox or cow, for horse, for man, medicine for us, medicine, that it be rich in healing, good for ram and ewe (bheṣajam gave aśvāya puruṣāya bheṣajam atha asmabhyam bheṣajam subheṣajam yathāśati sugam meṣāya meṣyai') (TS I.8.6.1.2). Here a clear reference is made to medicine and thereby all members of the family along with the animals are expected to be cured. While walking around the fire beating the thighs which represents some kind of dance or game, a verse is uttered in which a prayer is made for freedom from death and not from immortality.

(Mṛtyor mukṣīya māmṛtāt - VS III.60 ; TS.I.8.6.2; MS I.10.4. KS IX.7 KpKS VIII.10 RVVII.59.12). This dance also can be understood as a healing magic.⁴⁸ Throwing of the remainings of the offerings in the sky is also with a medicinal purpose. (Bheṣajam eva kurvate ŚB II.6.2.16). At the time of hanging the remains of the offerings, prayer is made in which Rudra is requested to go beyond the mūjavat⁴⁹ region. (ŚB II.6.2.17; VS III.61; MS I 10.4; KS IX.7; XXXVI. 14; KpKS VIII.10). It may be remembered here that Takman, a disease is also prayed to go to mūjavat (AV V.22. 7)⁵⁰ and Rudra who also is a disease personified has been prayed to go to that region. The reason why the priests and the sacrificer etc. come back to the home without seeing back is that Rudra should not follow them (MS I.10.20, KS XXXVI.14).

48 As a remote parallelism for dance connected with medicine we may refer to ERE. III.507a. For games as a means of curing see ERE, IV. 733f. S.R.Rajawade Nāsadiyasūktabhāṣya, uttarārdha, Khaṇḍa 2, p. 1544f sees in this rite a fertility ceremony.

49 For Mūjavat region see Macdonell, and Keith, Vedic Index, II. 169-170.

50 cf. Grohman, Indische studien, IX, p 411 f. (in "Medicinsches aus dem Atharvaveda".)

That there are some popular traces in this Trymbakha-viryāga is already mentioned. Rudra has a very little place in the Śrauta ritual in general and wherever he has any, it is generally for removing him away.⁵¹ The fire is brought to the crossway and then offerings are made. This offering in the crossway is of popular nature and Frazer⁵² has mentioned the depositing of the fever on cross-roads. A cake is buried in the molehill and this is a popular trace for 'the offerings made except in Agni are deficient'. Cf. Vyrddhā vā eśāhutir yām anagnau juhōti. KS XII.1; XXIV.4; KpKS XXXVII.5.1. XL.1. To walk round the fire while beating the thighs also represents some popular dance and finally the hanging of the remains of the cakes is also of popular nature connected with the tree worship etc. Arbman⁵³ rightly comments 'Zweifeisohne bezeichnet dies Aufhängen der Gabe - als die primitivere Opferweise

51 For Rudras place in the Ritual see Oldenberg Religion des Veda. p 217 ff, Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie II. 434 ff, Arbman Rudra, p. 98 ff, Dandekar, JUPHS, I. 97.

52 Arbman, Rudra, p. 57; Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie, II.442; Frazer, Golden Bough, p. 544

53 Arbman Rudra, p. 61

das ursprüngliche Tryambakaopfer und die verwendung des
Feuers eine spätere Neuerung priesterlichen Ursprungs."

Śunāsīriyaparvan also for curing :

The fourth part of the Cāturmāsya-sacrifices is called 'Śunāsīriya-parvan' KB V.8 - remarks "In that the sacrifices Śunāsīrau, and Śunāsīrau are healing and medicine verily thus at the end in the sacrifice healing and medicine are produced." The significance of śunāsira according to JB II 234 is to obtain the valour of Indra, the killer of Vṛtra and the milk of the conquered year." These are by JB respectively called Śuna and sīra.⁵⁴

After a man is cured he requires to be strong for as MS II.4.1. remarks "One is devoid of strength and valour who is diseased for a long time" (Indriyena vā eṣa vīryena vyrdhvate yasya jyogāmayati), and this rite Śunāsīriyaparvan seems to provide him with that strength. In order to understand why milk (payas) is mentioned as to be obtained

54 athaiṣa śunāsīryo yad vā indrasya vrtram jaghnusah
indriyam vīryam āsīt tacchunam yat samvatsarasya
prajitasya payas tat sīram tad yad indrasya vrtram
jaghnusah indriyam vīryam yat samvatsarasya prajitasya
payas tadubhyam avarundhāmāha iti.

we may see TS II.3.13.2, where we read "Milk (payas) departs from him and then he is caught by evil (pāpman)". Now pāpman is conceptually the same as the disease and this is clearly seen when we read RV XII.1 according to which "Man is the milk. One's milk is diseased when one is diseased. (payah puruṣaḥ paya etasyāmayati yasyāmayati," cp. MS II.3.1. payo vai puruṣaḥ paya etasyāmayati). Thus Śunāsīriyaparvan is for curing and healing.

Remaining rites :

In the end again we read "When they perform the expiations and the substitutions in that they offer the libations, verily thus do they produce a benediction (svastyana) for the healing of the sacrifice (yajñasya śāntyai) and the medicine of the sacrificer (yajamānasya bhisaiyāvai) (KS V.9. cp. GB II.I.26).

"Winning the year"

It is a very curious fact that the significance of Cāturmāsya is sometimes said to "win" the year.⁵⁵ (ŚB II.6.3.1) S̥e also TB I.4.10-3; They say "one wants to obtain the year (samyatsara) who sacrifices with the

55 cf. Heesterman, Consecration. p. 28 f.

Cāturmāsyas. "(Saṁvatasraṁ vā eṣa īpsatītyāhuḥ yaś cāturāṁ
syair yajate)"⁵⁶ MS I.10.7 identifies the Cāturmāsyas with
the saṁvatsara (Cf. ŚB XIII.2.5.2.also) In another context
it is explained "The Cāturmāsyas are performed for a whole
year. Obtaining them through the year, one holds them firm".
(MS IV-3.3) Cf. ŚB XIII.2.5.2." They say unheld is the year
of him who spreads out (performs sacrifice for) a year in
any other way than by means of the Cāturmāsyas-sacrifices.
The Cāturmāsyas are manifestly the year ..." In connection
with the Cāturmāsyas performed as a soma sacrifice, JB II.
234 says "The sacrificer of the Cāturmāsyas is performer
of a year's session." (saṁvatsarasad ha khalu vā eṣaḥ
yaścāturmāsyayājī). Now the identification of Prajāpati
and Saṁvatsara is well known. The sacrificer of the
Cāturmāsyas becoming ṛtu (season) goes to saṁvatsara after
the death. Prajāpati is identical with saṁvatsara. He
becomes Prajāpati. (TB I.4.10.10), GB II.1.26 says "The
Cāturmāsyas are verily this Prajāpati, the saṁvatsara."

56 According to TB I.4.10 1 ff one gets Agni, the
saṁvatsara by means of Vaiśvadeva, Āditya, the
Parivatsara by means of Varuṇaprghāsas, Candramas,
the Idāyatsara by means of Sākamedha and Vāyu, the
Anyvatsara by means of Śunāsīriya; cp. TMB, XVII.13.17.

Before this sentence the GB (II.1.26) identifies the Cāturmāsyas with the Prajāpati twentyfour (the number of halfmonths in a year) and explains "Vaiśvadeva is his mouth; Varuṇapraghāsas are his arms; the three iṣṭis (in the Sākamedha) are his prāṇa, apāna and vyāna. Mahāhaviryāga is his body (ātma) Śunāsira is his foundation (pratiṣṭhā) Cāturmasyas are this Prajāpati, samvatsara." Cf. KS VI 15.

The "winning of the year" (samvatsara) has various shades. The traces of the chief and original significance of the Cāturmāsyas viz. the Cāturmasyas as a magic for healing or curing can be found in the idea of winning the year. In the MS IV.6.8; KS X.4; XI.8, we get the identification of the life (Āyū) and the year (samvatsara). KS XXXVII.16 rightly says "The life is the highest object of desire (āyur vai paramaḥ kāmah) and the winning of the years (samvatsara) i.e. the life is naturally the highest aim.⁵⁷ It is obtained through the Cāturmāsyas. ~~The~~

57 For āyur vai paramaḥ kāmah see also Kāthakasāṅkalana ed. by Suryakant, 72.4. Further for the year equal to the objects of desire, see "The year is all the objects of desire. For indeed, outside the year there is no object of desire whatsoever (tasmādāhuḥ samvatsaraḥ sarve kāmah iti). Na ha samvatsarād kaścana --bahīrdhā kāmosti"; ŚB X.2.4.1)

Saṁvatsara is also identical with the Death (mṛtyu). "The year doubtless is the same as Death, for he, it is who, by means of day and night, destroys the life of mortal beings and then they die. (ŚB X.4.3.1 esa vai mṛtyur yaḥ saṁvatsarah esa hi martyānām ahoraṭrābhyam āyuh kṣinotyatha mriyante). Cf. JB I. 246" That who is Death it is verily the year. Seasons are its mouths (sa yo ha sa mṛtyus saṁvatsara eva saḥ. Tasya ha ṛtava eva mukhāni). For Death and Saṁvatsara identification see also JB II.350. Further we may observe that Varuṇa is also identical with the year (ŚB IV.1.4.10; 4.5.18: saṁvatsarah hi varuṇah). Now as we have seen above how Varuṇa is connected with sickness, death etc. when one gets victory over Saṁvatsara one naturally gets victory over the sickness, death etc. The connection of sickness and saṁvatsara is expressly mentioned by MS IV.3.6. "The year of him, verily has gone wrong who is diseased (saṁvatsaro hi vā etasya lubdhah athaitasyāmayati). Similarly, KS XII. 8 we read, "The year of him has been greedy who is diseased. (saṁvatsaro hi vā etasya lubdhah athaitasyāmayati). The winning of saṁvatsara as curing one physically can be understood when it is said that Prajāpati (the year) was cured by the Gods by means of the Haviryajñas and the beginning of the seasons (ṛtumukha) were cured by means of the Cāturmāsya. See ŚB I.6.3.35 ff. "After Prajāpati created the living beings, his joints

(parvan) were relaxed. Now Prajāpati, doubtless is the year and his joints are the two junctions of day and night (i.e. the twilights), the full moon and new moon, and the beginnings of the seasons. He was unable to rise with his relaxed joints and the Gods healed (abhiṣaiyan) him by means of these Haviryajñas. By means of the Agnihotra they healed that joint (which consists of) the two junctions of day and night and joined that together, by means of the full moon and the new moon sacrifice they healed that joint (which consists^{of}) the full and new moon and joined that together and by means of the three Cāturmāsya-s they healed that joint (which consists of) the beginnings of the seasons and joined that together". Here we know, how the samvatsara, i.e. Prajāpati was cured by means of the Cāturmāsya-sacrifices. The word used for joints is Parvan. This same word is used for the individual Cāturmāsya-sacrifice viz. Vaiśvadeva-parvan, Varuṇapaghāsa-parvan etc. This again shows the connection of the Cāturmāsya-s with the curing. To this can be added ŚB XI.5.2.1 ff where we know in detail how Prajāpati created his body by means of the Cāturmāsya-s. "Prajāpati fashioned for himself a body by means of the Cāturmāsya-s. The sacrificial food for Vaiśvadeva, he made to be this right arm of his. The oblation to Agni thereof ~~this~~ this thumb; that to Soma this (fore finger); and that to Savitr this (middle finger) ... That (oblation to Sarasvatī is this (third) finger; and that to Pūṣan this (little

finger). And that oblation to the Maruts is this joint above the hand (the wrist): and that to Viśvedevāḥ is this (elbow) and that to Dyāvāprthivya is this arm. ... The Varuṇapraghāsa offerings are this right leg; the five oblations which this has in common (with the other seasonal offerings) are these five toes: and the oblation to Indra and Agni is the knuckles.... That (oblation) to Varuṇa is this (shank); that to the Maruts this (thigh) ... and that cake to Ka is this back-bone... The offering to (Agni) Anīkavat (in the Sākamedha) is Prajāpati's mouth... Sāmtapanīya pap is the chest....; the Gṛhamedhīya (pap) is the belly... the Kraidina oblation is the male organ... the offering to Aditi is this downward breathing. The great oblation is this left leg; the five oblations which it has in common (with the other seasonal offerings) are these five toes; and the oblation to Indra and Agni is the knuckles.... The oblation to Mahendra is this (shank); that to Viśvakarman this (thigh)... The Śunāsīriya is doubtless this left arm. The fire oblations which it has in common (with the other seasonal offerings) are these five fingers. The Śunāsīriya is that joint of his above the hand; that oblation to Vāyu is this (elbow); that to Sūrya this arm... Thus Prajāpati fashioned for himself a body by means of the Cāturmasyas and in like manner does the sacrificer who knows this fashions for himself a body by

means of the seasonal sacrifices". It will be clearly known how the Cāturmāsyas can rebuild the body of a man and how their significance is related with healing.

The "winning of the year" has another shade viz. that of fertility, generation etc. Thus "The year (Samvat-sara) is the giver of food and nourishment. (Samvatsaro-nnādyasya pradātā MS IV.3.3; Ks.X.3) in connection with the Cāturmāsyas in the Rājasūya, MS IV.3.3. says that one who is desirous of food and nourishment should sacrifice with the Cāturmāsyas (annāyākāmo yajeta). "Food is produced according to the year" (Samvatsarā^m hyannam anuprajāyate KS X.3).⁵⁸ In connection with the generation we may recall ŚB XI.1.6.2 "In a year's time, a man, this Prajāpati, was produced therefrom and hence a woman, a cow or a mare brings forth within the space of a year. (... tasmādu samvat-sara eva strī/vā gaur vā vaḍavā vā vijāyate)" "From the seasons the offsprings are born (ṛtubhyo vai prajāḥ prajāyante" MS IV.6.7) Thus, Prajāpati performed the Cāturmāsyas and created the beings (JB II. 229.cf. MS I.10.8). Vaiśvadeva is connected with generation (e.g. MS I.10.8). The offsprings (Prajā) are called "Vaiśvadevī" (e.g. MS I.10.8). So, the vedic texts also may be said to support those who

58 cp. JB II.303, 307; Samvatsarah kṛtsnam annādyam pacati

see in the Cāturmāsyā rites some connection with the fertility, generation etc.

Elevation of the Cāturmāsyas :

We have mentioned above how there are many traces to show that the Cāturmāsyā-sacrifices have numerous traces of "healing or curing disease". There are many popular rites in Cāturmāsyas and it seems that originally the Cāturmāsyas must have been some popular magical rites for healing. Now such rites as well as the performers of these rites (viz. those who were physicians-priests) were rather looked down. Thus for example even the divine physicians (Asvinau vai devānām bhisajau : TS II.3.11.2.3; MS II.5.6; III.2.9; IV.1.2; AS I.18; KS XV III.1; GB II.2.6: 5.10; TB.I.7.3.5, TA V.7.3. cp KpKS XXXI.12) viz. the Asvins were also looked down to some extent. Thus they had earlier no share in the Soma sacrifice. (Cf. ŚB IV.1.5.13; JB III. 124. See also TS VI.4.9.1; KpKS XLII.4)⁵⁹ They were also supposed to be impure as it were. Thus the gods said at the time of expressing their unwillingness for admitting the

59 cf. Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie I. 478f; cf. also Scheftloitz ZDMG, Vol. 74, p.202.

Ásvins ^{for} soma-drink. "Impure are they, wandering among men,
 physicians. (apūtau vā imau manuṣvacarau bhisajau)
 (TS VI.4.9.1-2)⁶⁰ TS VI.4.9.2 then says, "Therefore
 a Brāhmaṇa should not practise medicine; for, the physician
 is impure, unfit for the sacrifice. (tasmād brāhmaṇena
na bhesajam kāryam apūto hyeṣo' medhyo yo bhisak.) Thus
 the work of a physician was looked down and a Brāhmaṇa
 was not allowed to do it. The Cāturmasyas in their
 original form also must have been looked down. In the
 process of the development and expansion of the vedic
 ritual of the classes, however, many popular rites were
 adopted in it. These rites received the due modifications
 and additions and omissions. The rites were thus so to say
 elevated. Then there were also some efforts to show that
 a particular sacrifice is of great importance; one gets
 many attractive results which are of course added to that
 sacrifice very artificially, the rite has a divine origin
 or origin from Prajāpatī and not from the popular customs;
 etc. The Cāturmāśya-sacrifices also appear to have gone
 through this process and we shall see the details of this
 process.

60 KpKs XLII.4 informs us that Ásvins were purified by
 means of Bahiṣpavamāna before they were given a sama.
 Thus Ásvins were elevated.

a) connection with soma-sacrifices :

In the process of elevation to connect a rite with the Soma sacrifices is a very important and effective device. For, the institution of Soma sacrifice was by itself of great importance and belonging to the high ritual of the upper classes. Many of the popular rites of masses could be elevated and get a place in the ritual when they were connected somehow with the Soma-sacrifice or were allowed to be entered into it.⁶¹

Thus while telling how the Cāturmāsyas were created by Prajāpati MS I.10.5 and KS XXXV.20; KpKS XLVIII.18 inform us that Vaiśvadevaparvan was created from Agniṣṭoma, Varuṇapraghāsa from Ukthya, and Sākamedha from Atirātra.⁶² BhāraśS VIII.25.12-13, we read "After offering the Cāturmāsyas, one should sacrifice with the Soma. It is said that Cāturmāsyas are a form of Soma." Thus the Cāturmāsyas are connected with the Soma sacrifice. At the end of the

61 Thus for example in Vājapeya there are many popular rites. But the Vājapeya was also elevated and was entered into the Soma-sacrificial institution.

62 Here, no mention of Śunāsīriya is made.

Varuṇapraghāsa, there is the Avabhṛtha⁶³ which principally belongs to the Soma sacrifice. Thus indirectly some connection with the high ritualistic element is obtained. The inclusion of Cāturmāsyaś in the Rājasūya sacrifice can also be understood as an effort to elevate the Cāturmāsyaś and establish them firmly in the vedic śrauta ritual of the classes.

For elevating the Cāturmāsyaś, they are connected with the soma sacrifice in a story of the Gods, and Asuras. There, in order to be superior to the Asuras, the Gods, among other things, made the Vaiśvadeva the morning pressing, the Varuṇapraghāsaś the midday pressing, the Sākamedhaś the third pressing, and performed the Pitṛmedha and Tryambakayāga at the third pressing (KS XXXIII.7).

Moreover there are the Cāturmasyaś which are to be performed under the soma-sacrifice category.⁶⁴ The saumika form definitely elevates the Cāturmāsyaś from their popular level to the high rank in the Śrauta ritual.

63 See e.g. MS I.10.13; KS XXXVI.7; ŚB II.5.2.46; TB I.6.5. cf etc.

64 For the description of these see JB II. 228 ff; TMB XVII.13 1 ff.

b) Various results obtained :

The performance of the Cāturmāsyas is elevated by ŚB II.6.3.1 by saying "Verily imperishable is the righteousness of him who offers the Cāturmāsyas" (akṣayyam ha vai sukṛtaṁ cāturmāsyavāline bhavati).⁶⁵ This is further explained as "For, he gains the year and hence there is no cessation for him... the year means whole; and the whole is imperishable. He becomes a season and goes to Gods, but there is perishableness in the Gods, (still) there is imperishable righteousness for him..." The sacrificer of the Cāturmāsyas is "Sahasrayājī" (yaś cāturmāsyair yajate sa sahasrayājī. MS I.8.6.) i.e. equal to one who sacrifices with a sacrifice in which one thousand cows are given as dakṣiṇās. TMB XVII 4.1. elevates the Cāturmāsyas-sacrifices (of the saumika nature) to the top of the sacrifices and shows that the sacrificer of the Cāturmāsyas gets more than the sacrificer of other sacrifices". "By sacrificing with the Agnihotra, he reaches in one day, 'ten houselords' (i.e. he becomes equal to them). By sacrificing with the ten Agnihotra during the ten years, he becomes equal to one who performs the sacrifices of Full and New -moon. By

65 The sentence is quoted by Satyāśś V.1; Āpśś VIII.1.1; Vaikhāśś VIII.3.

sacrificing during ten years with the sacrifices of Full and New moon, he becomes equal to one who performs the sacrifices of soma. By offering ten Agnistoma sacrifices he becomes equal to one who performs a sacrifice of a thousand cows as dakṣiṇās. By offering ten of these he becomes equal to one who performs a sacrifice with ten thousand dakṣiṇās. By offering ten of these he becomes equal to one who sacrifices with a sacrifice with a hundred thousand dakṣiṇās. By offering ten of these he becomes equal to one who sacrifices with a sacrifice of a million dakṣiṇās. By offering ten of these he becomes equal to one who sacrifices with a sacrifice with a 10 million dakṣiṇās. By offering ten of these he becomes equal to one who sacrifices with a sacrifice with 100 millions dakṣiṇās. By offering ten of these he becomes equal to one who sacrifices with a sacrifice with 1000 millions dakṣiṇās. By offering ten of these he becomes equal to one who sacrifices with a sacrifice with 10000 millions dakṣiṇās. By offering ten of these, he becomes equal to one who offers with a sacrifice of 100000 millions dakṣiṇās. By offering ten of these he becomes the ox. When becomes ox, then he becomes the Fire; when he becomes the Fire, he becomes equal to the houselord (grahapati) of the year. When he becomes the houselord of the year, he reaches the measure of the Vaiśvadeva..." The mere Vaiśvadeva performance is of this value, then we can only imagin of how

much value the performance of all the Cāturmāsyas must be. This is of course for the elevation of the Cāturmāsyas.

"The sacrificer of the Cāturmāsyas possesses both the arms (in good condition), in that world (tasmāccātarmāsyavāji amuṣmin loke ubhayābāhuḥ.) (TBI.6.4.2). According to ŚB II.6.4.8-9 the sacrificer "when he performs the Vaiśvadeva, becomes Agni and attains to union with Agni and to co-existence in his world. When he performs the Varunapraghāsa, he becomes Varuṇa and attains to union with Varuṇa and to co-existence in his world. When he performs the Sākamedha, he becomes Indra and attains to union with Indra and to co-existence in his world. The performer of the Cāturmāsyas reaches the highest place, the supreme goal. (sa paramam eva sthānam paramam eva gatiṁ gacchati cāturmāsyavāji)."

Though the Cāturmāsyas must have been originally connected with the healing, in the later period they are connected with many other results and Bhārṣṣ VIII.28.1. ff we read the kāmya Cāturmāsyas which are to be performed by the sacrificer with the desire of getting cattle (paśukāmaḥ), village (grhakāmaḥ), "firm foundation" (pratisthākāmaḥ) etc. This is the development of the Cāturmāsyas sacrifices, when they were being adopted in the ritual of the classes and being established and elevated.

c) Connection with Gods :

The stories told of the origin of the Cāturmāsyas help to understand how the sacrifice was elevated. The origin is told to be from the Gods. Thus ŚB V.2.3.10 says "created by the Gods, verily is this sacrificial rite viz. the Cāturmāsyas." Thus the origin of Cāturmāsyas is divine one.

TB I.4.9.3. gives the story of the Gods seeing the Cāturmāsyas ".... Those Gods thought 'these (asuras) obtained this (power-ūrk) what we are ?' Then they saw these Cāturmāsyas-sacrifices. Then the Gods won and the Asuras were defeated."

MS I.9.5 we read the Gods created the Cāturmāsyas by means of Pañcahotras.

Thus the Cāturmāsyas are said to be connected with the Gods because their origin is from Gods and not, as we could otherwise say, from the practices of the masses.

d) Connection with Prajāpati :

The origin of the Cāturmāsyas is ascribed by some texts to Prajāpati. Thus MS I.10.5, KS XXV.5, Kapṣ XLVIII.18: 'There were Gods and Asuras in this world. Prajāpati thought 'May I remove the Asuras and create the

beings'. He saw the Cāturmāsyas". Cf. JB II 229 where also Prajāpati is told to have seen the Cāturmāsyas. Prajāpati is of a very high rank in the ritual. By connecting the Cāturmāsyas with him they are elevated.

e) Connection with well-established rites :

In the process of elevation, the Cāturmāsyas sacrifices are connected with some of the rites which are well established in the Śrauta ritualism and that of a very high rank. Thus, for example, in connection with the Vaiśavadeva-parvan of the Cāturmāsyas KB.V.2 remarks, "In that he sacrifices to Agni and Soma first of the deities, it is because these are the deities of New and Full moon sacrifices (Darsapūrṇamāsa)." At the end of the rites in the Varuṇapraghāsa, in which there are popular elements, the sacrificer after having churned out fire sacrifices with the Paurṇamāsa sacrifice. For the Paurṇamāsa sacrifice is adapted (klpta) and established (pratiṣṭhita). (ŚB II 5.2.48). The same is done after the tryambakahoma in which also there are popular elements and the same reasoning is given (ŚB II 6.2.19). According to the MāŚS IX.3.7.1.ff, one can perform the Cāturmāsyas combined with animal sacrifices which were well-established ones. The association of a well-established rite is obviously for elevating the popular rites.

f) Identification with sarva (all) :

In elevating something it is usually identified by the Brāhmaṇa texts with the "all" (sarva). Thus the Cātur-
māsyas are also identified with Sarva ŚB XIV.3.2.28;
sarvaṃ vai cāturmāsyāni. see also KI VI.15; GB II.1.26
sarvaṃ cāturmāsyāni.

This sarva concept is further detailed in various places. One gets all by means of this all (Cāturmasya sacrifices) (KB VI.15). KS VI.15 earlier to this says that gods have obtained the heavenly worlds, all the desired objects, all the offerings all the immortality. (cātur-
māsyair āpnuvan svargān lokānsarvān kāmān sarva iṣṭīḥ
sarvaṃ amṛtatvam, cf. GB II.1.26. This is of course the highest stage in the process of elevation.

Conclusion :

Summarising our argument we may conclude with the following.

1) The original nature of the Cāturmāsyasacrifices must have been "a curing magic" performed by masses.

2) In the vedic texts we find that there are various traces of the Cāturmāsyasacrifice as a curing magic but is mixed with other characteristics of the ritual of the

classes. Subsequently the Cāturmāsyā-sacrifices are also connected with other results.

3) The vedic texts have elevated the Cāturmāsyā sacrifice by various ways in order to establish it firmly in the ritual systems of the classes.

(B) VājapeyaIntroduction :

The great sacrificial system as we have it, is a result of an activity carried on by many schools of ritualists through a very long time. Many new sacrifices were formed, many details were added to those sacrifices already known and many popular rites were included in the ritual system. Vājapeya, as we shall see, was included in the ritual system only with special efforts and then a high position was given to it. Now it is intended to see how Vājapeya gets a high position in the ritual system and in this connection the points like the meaning of the word Vājapeya, the importance of food in it, the elevation of it, the popular rites in it are considered.

Meaning of the word Vājapeya :

The word Vājapeya is interpreted in different ways by different scholars. weber derives the peya part of it from the root pā to protect and thus understands it as "protection of strength"¹. weber argues that there is no trace of a drink

1 Weber, Überden Vājapeya, p.10, cf. for this view rejected Keith, VBYT, p.cix, the same, RPV, p.340; Minard, Trois Enigmes, I, p.84.

in connection with this rite and therefore he is not inclined to connect peya with the root pā to drink. He understands Vājapeya originally to be a celebration of victory.² Keith,³ however, strongly opposes weber. He says that Vājapeya as we have it is essentially a soma-rite and the drinking of soma is a part, and in the priestly view the essential part of it. He then seems to understand the word as meaning "drink of strength", the meaning accepted by many other scholars. Thus for example Eggeling⁴ translates "drink of strength" (Eggeling mentions an alternative as "the race-cup"), wackernagel⁵ as "Krafttrunk", Oldenberg⁶ also as "Krafttrunk", Renou⁷ as "boisson de vigueur" the same scholar, in his Vocabulaire⁸ mentions both the meanings : "breuvage (ou: protection) de-puissance", and Minard⁹ translates as "boire-de-puissance".

2 weber, über den Vājapeya, p.10

3 Keith, VBYT, p.cix.

4 Eggeling, SBE, Vol. ALI, p.XI.

5 wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik II.1.192.

6 Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p. 473.

7 Renou, Anthologie Sanskrite, p.35

8 Renou, Vocabulaire du rituel Védique, p.135;

9 Minard, Trois énigmes, I, p.49, 84 etc.

The Brāhmaṇa-texts understand vāja as food, (Annam Vai vājāḥ ŚB VI.3-2-10; IA 3.4.1; TMB AIII 9.21; JB II.192 ff; III 151 etc.) Gonda discusses this word and says "vāja, generally speaking expresses not a concept in modern sense of the word but a group or complex of ideas, beliefs, conceptions, experiences converging in a "Daseinmacht" a power usually conceived of as substantial in character and hence very apt to materialize, a power manifesting in animal and vegetative life, strength, potency, in the capacity to life, to grow, to last, in vigour - the last word being an approximately correct English "equivalent".¹⁰ Gonda accordingly translates the word as "Drink-of-vigour".¹¹ The Brāhmaṇa-texts have no definite point of view about the exact explanation of the word Vājapeya. In an attempt to give the derivation of the word Vājapeya it is understood as Vājāpya. Thus instead of the root pā, the root āp is understood and it is said that the Gods desired to obtain (aipsan) Vāja(food) by means of Vājapeya (TB I.3.2.3). Sometimes the Vājapeya is understood as a dvandva compound and the remark annapeyaṃ ha vai nāmaitad yad Vājapeyaṃ suggests that Vājapeya means food and drink (ŚB V.1.3.3; 4.12 etc.) But in any case the Brāhmaṇa-texts are prone to understand the meaning of the word vāja as "food".

10 Gonda, Visnuism, p. p.48 and following.

11 Gonda, Visnuism, p.50, the same, Kingship, p. 84

Importance of food in the Vajapeya -

The main fruit of the Vajapeya is gaining food. Various rites which are included in Vajapeya are shown to have food as their fruit. The Soma and Surā form the two foods of Prajāpati and by using the cups of Soma and Surā both the foods are obtained (ŚB V.1.2.10). TB I.3.3.2-3, and KS XIV.5 say that Soma is the highest kind of food of Gods and Surā is the highest kind of food of men. With the best kind of food the sacrificer obtains the lower kinds of food. There is a spotted sterile cow to be offered to Maruts. Maruts are peasants (Viśah). Peasants are food and thereby food is obtained (ŚB V.1.3.3). At the midday soma-pressing there is the race of chariots. The chariot is taken down with the words (VS IX.5) "Thou art Indra's thunderbolt". The chariot is thus identified with Indra's vajra. Vajra is to be understood as the means by which Vāja is obtained.¹² The sacrificer is identical with Indra and in the mantra it is further said, "May this one win vāja by thee" and the Brāhmaṇa-text adds that Vāja is food and it is wished that the sacrificer should get food (ŚB V.1.4.3). At the time of sprinkling the horses the mantra is said whereby the horses are desired to be possessed of vāja (VS IX.5) "within the waters is ambrosia,

12 For Vajra and food cf. Gonda, Viṣṇuism, p. 34ff, p.52

in the waters is medicine, at the praises of horses may ye become Vājinah o horses "Then" o divine waters, what rushing, high-peaked, vāja-winning wave you have, therewith may this one (horse) win vāja. Here also vāja is interpreted as food and it is desired that food might be won (ŚB V.1.4.9). In the mantra to be used at the time of yoking the horse, the horse is desired to be vājin and balavān by means of the hidden speed (VS.IX.9) (ŚB V.1.4.10). The horses are similarly called Vājinah, Vājajitah at the time of making them smell the rice pap for Br̥haspati (VS I.9,19) (ŚB V.1.4.15.21), as well as when they are said to run the race (VS I.13)(ŚB V.15.17). At the time of beating the drum, Br̥haspati (if the sacrificer belongs to Brāhmaṇa class) or Indra (if the sacrificer belongs to Rājanya class) is addressed to win vāja (VS.I.11)(ŚB V.1.5.8-9). The sacrificer touches the rice-pap for Br̥haspati with the words "May the treasure of vāja come unto me (VS.I.19) (ŚB V.1.2.26). The sacrificer having ascended upon the sacrificial post touches wheat. For wheat is food and the sacrificer of Vājapeya obtains food (ŚB V.2.1.13). A seat of Udumbara wood is brought for the sacrificer. The tree Udumbara is sustenance (Ūrk) and therefore identical with food (ŚB V.2.1.23; TB I.3.8.2). The same is said about the use of Udumbara wood when in a vessel of Udumbara wood a kind of food is brought for Vājaprasaviya offering(ŚB V.2.2.1-2).

A goat skin is spread on it with the words (VS IX.22).

"Thee for tilling (kṛṣyai); thee for peaceful dwelling (kṣemāya); thee for wealth (rayyai); thee for thrift (poṣāya) (ŚB V.2.1.25).

From the above given examples it can be seen how in Vājapeya the obtaining of vāja, that is food according to the Brāhmaṇa-texts is important. The explanation of Vājapeya as annapeya can throw some light upon the original nature of the sacrifice namely a fertility rite. The reference to the Kṛṣi, rai, poṣa is very important from this point of view. From that it can be clear that the original rite had a connection with agriculture and it seems that the Vājapeya must be originally a popular fertility rite, an utsava for obtaining abundant crop, in which chariot-race, climbing upon a post, beating the sacrificer with salt etc. were the chief elements. But in the course of the development of the ritual this popular rite obtained the nature of a great soma-sacrifice, that is to say, this rite became elevated. The Brāhmaṇa-texts which form a period of development of sacrifice tried to establish the Vājapeya firmly in the system of soma-sacrifice. The meaning of the word Vājapeya as a drink of vigour i.e. of Soma which Keith supposes as an essential feature of the Vājapeya which we have, is correct only when the Vājapeya was established in the Soma-sacrifices gradually. But before that it was only annapeya "food and drink"

and had no reference to Soma. The Brāhmaṇa-texts not only want to establish the Vājapeya as a soma-sacrifice but also ~~to~~ elevate it in a special manner. The ways of elevating this sacrifice are various : removing the objections on the sacrifice or on some part of it, connecting the sacrifice or the details of it with Prājapati, connecting it with ^{ai} duties in general or some particular deity, showing the comparative superiority of the sacrifice to another sacrifice, adding many attractive fruits to the original and principal fruit of the sacrifice, elevating the person who sacrifices with it, and so on. Now we shall see the details of the process of elevation of Vājapeya.

Process of Elevation of the Vājapeya-

a) Vājapeya : - a soma-sacrifice.

The nature of Vājapeya is rather complex. It is neither an Agnistoma, nor Ukthya, neither Ṣoḍaśī nor Atirātra. So the Brāhmaṇa-texts tried to give it a separate position. Thus it is called a distinct rite (Atiriktayaajña). Prājapati is also distinct (atirikta) and by means of the Vājapeya, Prājapati is obtained (JB.II.192). There was objection due to this and some said, "Nobody should sacrifice with the Vājapeya at all. For thereby one obtains everything, Prājapati is everything. Then nothing remains for his offerings^{5p}

and they will be poor." This objection is removed by saying that there should be learned priests and then there cannot be any harm (ŚB V.1.1.9-10) When such objections were removed there was a tendency to elevate the Vājapeya. Thus the sacrifice is identified with Soma (TBI 3.2.3) and thereby the nature of Vājapeya as a soma-sacrifice is fixed. Efforts are made to show that all the sacrifices are included in the Vājapeya sacrifice. The Brāhmvādins then asked, "As it is neither Agniṣtoma, nor Ukthya, neither Ṣoḍaśī nor Atirātra, then how all the sacrifices are included in the Vājapeya?" The answer was thus, "by means of the sacrificial animals offered in the Vājapeya all the sacrifices are included in it. As there is an animal victim to Agni, thereby the Agniṣtoma is included. By means of an animal victim to Indra and Agni, the Ukthya; by means of an animal victim to Indra, the Ṣoḍaśī; by means of an animal victim to Sarasvatī, the Atirātras and by means of an animal victim to Maruts the Vājapeya are included" (TBI.3.4.1).

b) Vājapeya connected with Prajapati.

The stories narrated to give the origin of the Vājapeya are also given with the view of elevating it. Prajapati gave all sacrifices to the Gods, but reserved the Vājapeya for himself. The Gods then said, "This is the sacrifice viz. the Vājapeya. Let us also have a share in it. Then they obtained the Ujjiṭi formulas from Prajapati (Tb I.3.2.5). Here twofold

elevation is made separately. The mention that the Gods did not have share in the Vājapeya can be understood in the sense that it was a popular rite of masses and the Gods of high rank got share in it only afterwards. Secondly here it is described as the sacrifice and thus its importance is established. At another place also Prajāpati is said to be at the origin of this sacrifice, for it was he who saw the Vājapeya (TBs AVIII.7.1; GB II.5.8). The Vājapeya is also said to be belonging to Prajāpati (prājāpatyah) (TB II.192; 193). The connection of a rite with Prajāpati whose importance was supreme in the field of ritual is an effective device in elevating that sacrificial rite.

c) divinization :

Divinization or connecting a rite with individual deities or deities in general is a further device. Accordingly the Vājapeya is connected with Brhaspati (ŚB V.2.1.19) and Indra for they won the race (ŚB V.1.1.11). Vājapeya is also connected with him who shines in the sky i.e. the sun (GB II.5.8). The order in which horses are yoked to the chariot in the race is noteworthy. In the worldly practice the left horse is yoked first. But here the right horse is yoked first. The reasoning is that this is the divine way (ŚB V.1.4.7). Again the reasoning for the number three of the horses yoked is that what is threefold belongs to the Gods (ŚB V.1.4.11).

d) comparative superiority -

For the sake of elevation some ritualists also use the device of showing Vājapeya as superior to the Rājasūya. ŚB is very active in this respect. The sacrificer becomes king (rājā) by performing the Rājasūya; but by performing Vājapeya one becomes emperor (samrāt). The office of the king is the lower and the office of emperor is the higher (ŚB V.1.1.12-B). Again it is said that a sacrificer who has performed Vājapeya should not sacrifice with the Rājasūya. For that will be like coming down from the high seat or like an emperor (samrāt) becoming a king (rājā) (ŚB IX 3.4.8). Kātyāyana following ŚB prescribes in this respect that the Rājasūya may be performed by a king who has not yet performed Vājapeya (Kātyāśś XV.1.1-2). It is implied thus that Vājapeya is more than sufficient equivalent for the Rājasūya.¹³

e) various fruits of the Vājapeya and of the rites in it.

Though the obtainment of food is an important result of the Vājapeya, in the process of elevation of the Vājapeya and the individual rites in it, various other good results are assured to be obtained by the sacrificer. The obtainment of Prajāpati, a very high achievement, is often mentioned (ŚB V.1-2-7; 10; 13; TBI 3.6.34; TMB AIII 6.4; JB II.192).

13 Eggeling, SDE, Vol. ALI, p. xxiv, Keith, VBYT, p.cix

Obtainment of heaven is also possible by means of Vājapeya (ŚB V.2.1.12; TMB XVIII.7.1; JB II.5.8). The Vājapeya sacrificer gets authcracy and supremacy (TBI.3.2.1-3). Vājapeya is also prescribed to be performed by one who desires to obtain the brahman--splendour (brahmavaracasakāmah) (JB II.192). He obtains all speeches (TBI, 3.2.7). He not only becomes possesor of food (Vāji) but also gets a son who is also a possessor of food (Vāji) (TBI¹.3.2.3). He himself gets food and gets a son, eater of food (TBI 3.2.4). There are both somagrahas and surāgrahas used in the Vājapeya sacrifice. Soma is male and surā is female. This is a productive pair (mithuna). The sacrificer satiates himself with the somagrahas and satiates his wife with the surāgrahas. Then it is added, " Therefore the sacrificer of Vājapeya gets women in the next world. For he has obtained the ability be means of Vājapeya (TBI. 3.3.4). The last stage in this respect is when it is said that by the performance of Vājapeya one gets all (ŚB V.1.1.8). It is also noteworthy that the obtainment of vāja is also occasionally said to imply the obtainment of all (TMB XVIII.9.20).¹⁴

f) elevation of the sacrificer of the Vājapeya.

The Vājapeya in its popular form might have been performed by those who are concerned with agriculture namely the vaiśyas

14 Gonda, Kingship, p. 86.

and sūdras. But alongwith the sacrifice the sacrificer also was elevated and thus the Vājapeya could be performed only be a person belonging to the Brāhmaṇa or the Rājanya class (TB I.3.2.3). Thus the sacrificer is elevated from lower classes to higher classes.

The sacrificer of the Vājapeya is elevated in another manner. Thus he is at a time identified with Indra (TBI 3.6.3) and at another time said to be connected with Bṛhaspati (TBI. 3.6.8-9). As he obtains all speeches that are in the earth, in the fire, in the Rathantara, and in the sky etc. - he deserved to be a ṛtvij (ārtvijīnaḥ) (TBI.3.2.7). This is of course a very high honour when we take into consideration the importance of ṛtvij in the view of the ritualists. The sacrificer does not get down from his seat before any one (TB I.3.9.1; TMB XVIII 6.12). He is purified (pūtaḥ), worthy of sacrifices (medhyaḥ) and worthy of giving dakṣiṇās (dakṣinyaḥ) (TBI. 3.3.6-7).

Popular rites -

There are some popular rites in the Vājapeya and having elevated them, the Brahmanatexts establish them as a part of the Vājapeya. The process of elevation is well applied here also.

a) The race of chariots can be seen from this point of view. There was an objection upon the race because it is done

outside the firealter. Thus some said "Those who run a race outside the fire-alter go away from the sacrifice. For only that part which is performed inside the firealter is yajña." Then they allowed the race within the firealter. Others used to say, "They should nevertheless run the race. For by means of Rathantara-Sāman they win the heavenly race and by means of chariot they win the human race. Therefore they should certainly run the race in order to obtain both the races (JB II.193) Once it is said that those who run the race they win the heaven. Therefore they go to the east. For the heaven is eastwards. Then it is said that those who run the race, they fall from the heavenly world. Therefore they should turn to northwards (TB I.3.6.5-6). Elsewhere it is also said that by means of the race this world is won (ŚB V.1.5.1). Alongwith heaven Prajāpati is said to be obtained by the race.(JB II.192). Here it would seem that there was no definite position as regards the chariot race and its fruit.¹⁵

- 15 Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie, Vol.I. p.484, Stresses on the importance of chariot race and says "Die dabei mit grosser Feierlichkeit veranstalteten Wagenrennen machen das Fest zu einer Art von olympischen Spielen der alten Inder" and thus compares the race with Olympic games. On the purpose of race and similar games see Gonda, Visnuism p.47 and the literature cited there; Heesterman consecration, p.133. For a chariot race as a means of obtaining rain and abundant crops, see Meyer, Trilogie II.199. For race as a popular element in Vajapeya see also Hillebrandt, Ritualliteratur p.141.

But by connecting the race with the heaven and Prajāpati, it is definitely elevated.

b) At the time of the race drums are beaten. The importance of the sound of drums is emphasized in following manner. The height (varṣma) of the speech went away from the Gods. It entered the trees. The sound of the drum is the same as that speech in the trees. Therefore the sound of the drum supersedes all the other sounds. The sound of the drum is the highest kind of sounds and the sacrificer wins the height of speech thereby. Thus the sound of drums is elevated by describing it as the highest kind of sounds. (TBI. 3.6.2; ŚB V.1.5.6)

c) The further popular rite is when the sacrificer alongwith his wife ascends the sacrificial post. While he ascends, he says, "We have become the Prajāpati's children." Then it is added that one who sacrifices with Vājapeya becomes the child of Prajapati. (ŚB V.2.1.10-11; TBI 3.1.4-5) Thus the sacrificer of Vājapeya and the ascendance on the sacrificial post is elevated. Then the sacrificer touches the wheat. Wheat is food and one who sacrifices with Vājapeya obtains food (ŚB V 2.1.12-13). While the sacrificer is on the post, peasants (viśah) throw bags on salt upto the sacrificer. Salt means cattle and cattle is food. One who sacrifices with Vājapeya, obtains food (ŚB V 2.1.16-17).¹⁶

16 Gonda, Kingship, p.85 4.546; Meyer, Trilogie III.185.

In the process of elevation some texts prescribe that the great priests instead of peasants throw salt towards him(MS I.11.8).

Another popular rite is when the Vājasṛts make quarrel. The purpose given is the obtainment of energy (indriya) (TB I.3.8.4-5).

The use of surāgrahas can also be mentioned as another popular feature of the Vājapeya¹⁷ and the comment that Surā is the best food of men (TB I.3.2-3) is obviously for elevating it.

About these popular features Keith remarks "in sacredotising the rite, the priests have still retained its popular features which make its inclusion as a form of soma sacrifice obviously secondary one"¹⁸. It is true that the Vājapeya is "sacredotised" but the popular rites are not only retained but also are elevated by the very fact that they are included in a soma sacrifice i.e. the new Vājapeya which is also described in high words. Again the popular rites do not make the inclusion of Vājapeya in the soma sacrifices, secondary one; for the inclusion was very essential for the establishment of the Vājapeya and the fact seems to be that not only the Vājapeya but also the popular rites are

17 Keith, VBYT, p.cxi.

18 Keith, VBYT, p. cx.

included in the soma sacrifice-system and the inclusion is not secondary but very important in the process of elevation.

Conclusion :

The various details collected above will lead to the following conclusions -

(i) Vājapeya must have been popular fertility rite, an utsava, connected with obtaining plenty of food.¹⁹

(ii) During the process of development of the ritual the Vājapeya was included in the soma sacrifices. This was a kind of elevation in itself.

(iii) In order to establish the Vājapeya firmly various efforts were made to elevate it.

19 Meyer, Trilogie, III. 184. "Die Vājapeya-feier ist mir ursprünglich, nach allen Anzeichen, ein Fruchtbarkeits- und ^{Frucht}Erntefest - "

(C) Sautrāmaṇī.Introduction :

In the established seven haviryajñas (also called iṣṭis), the Sautrāmaṇī has a place. But it seems that the Brāhmaṇa-texts must have tried their best for the firm establishment of the Sautrāmaṇī in the list of śrautya sacrifices. It contains the popular feature, viz., the use of surā which is rarely used except in another sacrifice 1/2. Vājapeya which also obviously contains many popular features and is established and elevated by the Brāhmaṇa-texts. Now let us study the Sautrāmaṇī and see how the Brāhmaṇa-texts have elevated it.

The objections on Sautrāmaṇī removed :

In ŚB XII.9.3.7 we get the important statement that the Sautrāmaṇī was, in the beginning among the Asuras (asuresu vā eṣo'gre vajña āsit sautrāmaṇī). The sacrifice Sautrāmaṇī, then being afraid of the Asuras went to the waters. The waters led the sacrifice forward. When the fore-offerings had been offered but the fire had not been carried round the oblations, the Asuras came after the Sautrāmaṇī. By means of circumambient fire the Gods shut the way of the Asuras (ŚB XII.9.3.7ff). Here we know that the sacrifice was originally with the Asuras and then it came to the Gods.

This will perhaps reveal to us the original popular character of the Sautrāmaṇī as well as the use of surā in it. There are objections to the use of surā and to the performance of Sautrāmaṇī. But they are refuted by the Brāhmaṇas by the device of elevation of these both.

"Supplied with surā indeed is this ^{āy}bṛāhis-seated sacrifice, namely, the Sautrāmaṇī", says ŚB XII.8.1.2. Thus the Brāhmaṇa-text has expressly said that the surā is the chief characteristics of the Sautrāmaṇī. But XII.9.3.5 we get an objection raised on the use of surā. Bāhika Prātipīya, the Kauravya King, expresses the objection before Sthapati Cakra who was performing the Sautrāmaṇī for the sake of Dustarītu Paumsāyana. He mentions that there is an objection against the offering of the surā either in the Āhavanīya fire, or in fact anywhere else than in the Āhavanīya fire. Sthapati Cakra said that he would not offer the surā in the Āhavanīya fire nor anywhere else than in the Āhavanīya. He further told that the offerings of the milk are to be made on the northern fire and those of the surā in the southern fire. Inasmuch as these two fires are taken from the Āhavanīya, they are Āhavanīyas; and inasmuch as they do not again reach the Āhavanīya, they are not Āhavanīyas; one thereby obtains both kinds of oblations, that which is offered on the Āhavanīya and that which is

offered not on the Āhavanīya (ŚB XII. 9.3.5ff). Thus the problem of surā offering is solved and though it is a popular feature it has not been removed while the Sautrāmaṇī was brahmanised.¹ Not only the objection against the use of surā is removed and its use allowed in the Sautrāmaṇī but it has been praised also. Thus we find that a view of the other Adhvaryus (most probably of TB school - I.8.6.2) is refuted by the ŚB XII.8.1.6. Thus those Adhvaryus hire ~~some~~ rājanya or vaiśya for the purpose of drinking the remnants of the surā. But according to the ŚB school this is not to be done. "For somadrink falls to the share of the fathers and grandfathers of whosoever drinks the sūrā on this occasion". Thus we see how the drinking of the surā in the Sautrāmaṇī is elevated. Here the ŚB has also prescribed the drinking of it by oneself and not hiring anybody else for drinking it. Surā is here more than the substitute of soma. ŚB XII.8.1.16 describes the surā as "purified" (pūtā) i.e. pure and by means of it soma is purified. Thus here the surā is more pure than soma. In this way the surā is elevated

There is some discussion as to whether this sacrifice should or should not be performed (ŚB XII.8.1.17) ŚB.XII.8.3.21

1 Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p.369, n.; cf. also Hillebrandt, Rituallitteratur, p.159; Gonda, Religionen Indiens, I.173.

an objection is raised : "One who is consecrated by the Sautrāmaṇī surely moves away from this world." But this is removed and it is said that one should descend again upon the blackantelope skin; the black-antelope skin is the sacrifice and one thus establishes himself on the sacrifice. It will be seen here how there are doubts, objections, etc., in the case of the Sautrāmaṇī. The Brāhmaṇa-texts have removed them and tried to establish the Sautrāmaṇī. They also elevate the Sautrāmaṇī in various ways.

The principal significance of the Sautrāmaṇī :

The Sautrāmaṇī has 'curing' as its principal significance. Indra was cured by the deities like Āśvins, Sarasvatī etc. and thus this aspect of curing has been mentioned very often. Indra hated Viśvarūpa, the son of Tvaṣṭṛ and cut down his heads. Tvaṣṭṛ became angry when his son was thus slain. He performed a soma-sacrifice without Indra. Indra seeing this, even uninvited consumed the pure (soma) in the soma tub. But that soma-juice hurt him and flowed away in all directions from his vital airs, except from his mouth. Being thus purged by soma, he walked about as one tottering. Āśvins cured him by means of this offering. The Gods then said, "Ah ! These two have saved him, the well-saved (sutrāta). Hence the name Sautrāmaṇī (sutrātaṁ batainaṁ atrāsātām tasmāt sautrāmaṇī nāma") (ŚB V.5.4.1ff; cp. ŚB I.6.3.7; AII.8.3.1ff; GB II.5.6). TB I.8.6.1ff does not refer to this story of Indra

and Tvaṣṭṛ's son. It mentions the story of Indra's valour going away and the story has some minor similarities. ŚB XII.7.1.1ff we have the story of Indra and Tvaṣṭṛ's son in a different way. Indra killed Vaśvarūpa the son of Tvaṣṭṛ, Tvaṣṭṛ performed an incantation rite. He performed a soma-sacrifice without Indra. Indra consumed the soma. He went asunder then and his valour went away. He, then was seen by Namuci. He seized the valour of Indra by means of the surā. Gods asked Aśvins and Sarasvatī to restore Indra and they did accordingly. They took the valour from Namuci and restored it to Indra ... Thus we see here that Indra is cured by the deities that are given offerings in the Sautrāmaṇī. ŚB V.5.4.13ff tells that by means of this Sautrāmaṇī one who has been purged by soma can be cured. Bloomfield² describes the Sautrāmaṇī as a deliberate copy of a mystic process, the healing of Indra by Aśvins after the excessive soma-drinking. As the curing is connected with the expiations, Sautrāmaṇī can be viewed as possessing an expiative character³ also.

2 Bloomfield, JAOS, LV ("The story of Indra and Namuci" p.143ff) p.150.

3 Gonda, Religionen Indiens, I.p.59; the same, Change and Continuity, p.359.

The process of elevation of the Sautrāmaṇī :

1) Change in results :

As we have mentioned above the Sautrāmaṇī which was taken from the popular ritual was given the form of brahmanical śrauta sacrifice. The brāhmaṇa-texts elevate this Sautrāmaṇī rite. Thus the expiatory curing character is changed by the brāhmaṇa-texts. ŚB XII.7.2.2 mentions that one who vomits the soma has to perform the Sautrāmaṇī. But here a mystical sense is given to the word soma-vāmī ("one who vomits the soma" - the literal meaning). Thus we read - "The Soma juice is the brāhmaṇa's food; it is not owing to Soma when a brāhmaṇa vomits soma and he who vomits soma is one who whilst being fit to (gain) prosperity does not get prosperity, and who whilst being fit to (gain) cattle does not gain cattle; for soma is cattle". Thus the results of the Sautrāmaṇī then would be to get prosperity and cattle. ŚB XII.9.1.17 tells us that by performing the Sautrāmaṇī one gets offspring cattle, and the heavenly world. ŚB XII.8.2.1f we are told that after performing a soma sacrifice one should perform the Sautrāmaṇī. "For one who performs the soma-sacrifice becomes empty as it were. His prosperity has been taken away then ... One becomes filled with offspring and cattle and establishes himself firmly in the heavenly world". According to ŚB XII.8.3.17

the performer of the Sautrāmaṇī gets food in all directions. ŚB AII.7.3.1.1ff we read the story in which Indra defeats Namuci who is described as the evil and hateful enemy of Indra. Then ŚB AII.7.3.4, we are told that one who has enemy may sacrifice with the Sautrāmaṇī. He then kills that evil and hateful enemy and obtains his energy and valour. The sacrificer consecrated by the Sautrāmaṇī becomes the highest (śreṣṭha) among his own people (ŚB AII.8.3.2; cp. ŚB AII. 8.2.28; GB II.5.6.7). He becomes famous (ŚB AII. 8.3.1). The sacrificer of the Sautrāmaṇī obtains the seasons (ŚB AII.8.2.33ff). He obtains the year (ŚB AII.8.2. 31). He obtains long life (ŚB AII.9.1.11). He obtains immortality (ŚB AII.9.1.7ff). He obtains all (ŚB AII.8.2.31; 36).

ii) Changes in the form of the Sautrāmaṇī :

a) iṣṭi and paśubandha both :

The popular feast including the surā drink and of expiative purifying nature has been changed by the Brāhmaṇa-texts into an important haviryajña of the "classes". But the efforts of artificial nature for giving soma high place to this sacrifice by attributing both the characteristics of an animal sacrifice and of a haviryajña (=iṣṭi) are quite apparantly seen in the Brāhmaṇa-texts. The Sautrāmaṇī is both an iṣṭi and an animal sacrifice (paśubandha). Therefore,

there is a mare with a foal as dakṣiṇā in the Sautrāmaṇī-sacrifice. For such a mare produces both the horse and the mule; and the Sautrāmaṇī is both an iṣṭi and an animal-sacrifice (ŚB XII.7.2.21) Mention has been made of the Sautrāmaṇī as both an iṣṭi and an animal sacrifice at ŚB XII.7.2.12 also. But there the Sautrāmaṇī is also identified with soma, which we shall study in the next paragraph.

b) Sautrāmaṇī as a Somayajña :

The nature of the Sautrāmaṇī as a soma-sacrifice is described in the following discussion. Suplan Sārṇjaya asked, "Seeing that neither does one become consecrated nor are soma-shoots thrown down to be pressed; how then does the Sautrāmaṇī become a Soma-sacrifice?" The answer is given by Pratidarsā Aibhāvata - The observance of fast is the head of the sacrifice and the consecration is its body. The truth is of the form of the fast-observation and faith that of the consecration. When the sacrificer enters upon the fast-observance, he thereby restores the head of the sacrifice and the Adhvaryu puts the truth into the faith and the sacrificer into the sacrifice. Therefore, at the Sautrāmaṇī, the fast observation is the consecration. The material of the Sautrāmaṇī represents essentials of the soma-sacrifice. The malted rice is of the form of the morning pressing, the malted barley is of the form of the midday pressing and the fried rice is of the form of the third-pressing (ŚB XII.8.2.3ff). ŚB XII.7.2.12 we find that the

Sautrāmaṇī is first said to be an iṣṭi and animal sacrifice (paśubandha) both and then it is further identified with soma. Thus there we read - some sacrificers buy the malted rice from a eunuch saying, "that is that" (=eunuch is equal to the Sautrāmaṇī). For the eunuch is neither woman nor man; and the Sautrāmaṇī is neither an offering (iṣṭi) nor an animal sacrifice (paśubandha). This view (which is somewhat similar to TB I.8.5.3-4) is refuted further. The reason given is that the Sautrāmaṇī is both an offering and an animal sacrifice. "Eunuch is something incomplete among the men. They who do thus (as mentioned above) place incompleteness into the very mouth (opening) of the sacrifice. Therefore, that practice is not to be followed. Rather a vendor of soma is to be bought. For the Sautrāmaṇī is soma. He thus puts a form of soma into the very mouth of the sacrifice so as to secure the sacrifice". At the end of the Sautrāmaṇī, Avabhr̥tha is to be performed. "For they go for Avabhr̥tha bath after sacrificing with the soma. The Sautrāmaṇī is the soma". (ŚB XII.9.2.1). ŚB XII.8.2.21 says that the Sautrāmaṇī is manifestly (pratyaksāt) a soma-sacrifice. Thus the Brāhmaṇa-texts try to connect the Sautrāmaṇī with soma.⁴ For, connecting a rite with soma is a very important device employed by the Brāhmaṇa-texts to elevate any sacrifice.

4 For this cf. Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie, I, p.489f.

In this connection it may be added that the Sautrāmaṇī in the form called "Caraka" has been included in the Rājasūya sacrifice. The other which is to be called "Kaukila" kind is performed separately. These names are not used in the Brāhmaṇa-texts; they are later names. But the Brāhmaṇa-texts have themselves included the Sautrāmaṇī in the Rājasūya which is a soma sacrifice in itself and also contains some other soma sacrifices like Daśapeya etc. This connection with the Rājasūya is also a kind of elevation of the Sautrāmaṇī.

iii) Sautrāmaṇī - a sacrifice of the Brāhmaṇas :

We have seen that the Sautrāmaṇī must have been originally a popular rite. But in the process of elevation it is described as the sacrifice of the Brāhmaṇas (Brāhmaṇayajña) (ŚB XII.9.1.1).

iv) Connection with Prajāpati and Gods :

In order to elevate any sacrificial rite the Brāhmaṇa-texts connect it with Prajāpati. Thus the origin of the Sautrāmaṇī is traced to Prajāpati. "Prajāpati created the sacrifice and performed it. After performing it he thought himself to be empty. He saw this sacrificial rite, viz., the Sautrāmaṇī and sacrificed with it. Then he became filled again." "Thus the origin is ascribed to Prajāpati. We have mentioned how the Sautrāmaṇī is said to be among the Asuras

in the beginning. But ŚB V.5.4.14 it is said, "This offering namely the Sautrāmaṇī is created by the Gods (devasṣtā vā eṣeṣṭiḥ yat sautrāmaṇī). Thus we see that the brāhmaṇa-texts are praising and elevating the Sautrāmaṇī. by calling it aindra i.e. "belonging to Indra" the brāhmaṇa-texts mean to indicate praise and elevation (cf. ŚB XII.8.2.24; 3.25; KB XVI.10; GB II.5.7).

Conclusions:

1. The Sautrāmaṇī must have been originally a popular rite consisting of drinking surā etc. and having curing and expiatory nature.

2. The Brāhmaṇa-texts have elevated this rite, removed the objections to it and evolved a separate rite in the Śrauta-ritual. They also included (a kind of) it in the Rājasūya.

3. In order to establish this rite, it is highly praised and elevated in various manners.

(D) AśvamedhaIntroduction :

The stories of the vicissitudes of animals used for sacrificing mention the horse to have been an animal worthy to be sacrificed at one period (AB II.8; ŚB I.2.3.6f). The remnant of that period can be seen in the Aśvamedha i.e. the horse-sacrifice. This sacrifice contains many popular rites, which appear to have been elevated by the Brāhmaṇa-texts. The Brāhmaṇa-texts have made serious efforts to elevate the Aśvamedha sacrifice as a whole. They have removed the objections against the Aśvamedha; then they have shown its importance, and finally they have been successful in establishing it firmly in the Śrauta-ritual.

Objections against the Aśvamedha are removed -

We find expressions like "The prosperity, royal sway departs from him who sacrifices with the Aśvamedha" (ŚB XIII.1.5.1, 1.6.3; TB III.9.7.1; 14.1). Thus, it seems that there were some persons who opposed the performance of the Aśvamedha.¹ In order to preserve the prosperity and royal sway, there are two men (one Brāhmaṇa and the other Rājanya) who play on lute and sing in praise of the sacrificer (ŚB XIII.1.5.1ff; TB III.9.14.1) In ŚB XIII.2.6.3 another objection is raised. "Indeed, lustre, energy, cattle and

1 cp. Keith, RPV, p.476.

prosperity depart from him who offers the Āśvamedha." This objection is removed in the following way. At the time of the anointing of the horse the verses used are in the Gāyatrī, the Trīṣṭubh and the Jagatī metres. The Gāyatrī is identical with the lustre, the Trīṣṭubh is identical with the energy and the Jagatī is identical with the cattle. The anointing is done by the three wives which are identical with the prosperity. Thus the lustre, ~~E~~energy, cattle and the prosperity are preserved (ŚB XIII.2.6.4ff; TB III.9.4.6-7) In ŚB XIII.2.6.9 TB III.9.5.1 further objection is raised. "The lustre and brahman-splendour depart from him who offers the Āśvamedha." This objection is removed in the following way. "The Hotṛ and the Brahman engage themselves in a brahmodya. The Hotṛ is connected with Agni and the Brahman with Ṛhaspati, who is brahman. Thus both the lustre and brahman-splend[^]or are placed upon him." Further objection is that the life and the deities depart from him who use the impure speech in the course of a sacrifice. By means of the recitation of the verse "Dadhikrāvno akāriṣam (RV IV.39.6 etc.), they purify their speech so that the deities do not depart from them (ŚB XIII.5.2.10). TB III.9.7.4 mentions that the vital airs (prāṇa) go away from those who speak impure speech. The above mentioned ṛc which contains the word surabhi helps to preserve the vital airs. For the vital airs are surabhi. In TB III.9.6.1 also a similar objection is raised that the

vital airs (prāṇa) go away from those who perform the āśvamedha sacrifice. There are the oblations to Prāṇa and Apāna at the time of slaughtering of the horse. So that the vital airs are placed very well and do not go away. The same objection of departure of vital airs is raised in the case of fanning the dead horse. Those who fan, from them the vital airs depart. They should move round the horse nine times. The vital airs are nine. They thus place the vital airs in them (TB III.9.6.2f). At TB III.9.9.3 we are told that the performer of the āśvamedha becomes devoid of cattle. He should, therefore, offer chagala, kalmāsa, kikīdivi and vidigaya animals to Tvaṣṭṛ and then he prospers thereby with cattle. TB III.9.4.2 mentions an objection of some, according to whom, evil (enemy) comes unto one who sacrifices with the āśvamedha. This objection is removed by saying that the dog after being killed is to be placed under the hoof of the horse. The horse is the possessor of thunderbolt and belongs to Prajāpati. Thus by means of that, the thunderbolt, the evil enemy is removed. The performer of the āśvamedha is also said to be devoid of the seasons. But this objection is removed by saying that one should offer "victims of season" (ṛtupaśus) namely "three reddish brown ones for spring; three dappled ones for summer, three piebald for the rains, three dappled for autumn; three with dappled thighs for winter, three smeared over for the cool

season ..." TS V.⁶23.1). When these victims are offered, the sacrifice endows himself with the seasons (TB III.9.9.3).

In this manner, we see that there were many objections raised against the performance of the Aśvamedha. But the Brāhmaṇa-texts have removed them all and thus established the Aśvamedha firmly. The reason for these objection seems to be that there are many queer and popular rites e.g. killing the dog, intercourse of the royal queens with the horse, obscene dialogue etc. But the Brāhmaṇa-texts have elevated all these rites along with the elevation of the Aśvamedha sacrifice as a whole. They have given a high place to the Aśvamedha and established it into the Śrauta-ritual along with its popular rites.

The original nature of the Aśvamedha :

Originally the Aśvamedha appears to have been meant for the celebration of victory, and a rite done for preservation of it.² This aspect is found preserved even in its elevated śraut^Aform. The horse is left to wander for a year and for the protection of it armed men are employed (ŚB AIII.1.6.3; 4.2.5; cp TB III.8.9.4) ŚB AIII.4.1.2 calls the Aśvamedha Kṣatriyayañna. The Aśvamedha is to be performed by a powerful king and if any weak king or sacrificer performs this sacrifice he becomes defeated (ŚB AIII.1.6.3; TB III.8.9.4) Thus it will be seen that a king is expected to

2 Keith, RPV, p.260 "... it is ... an offering to secure maintenance of the success arrived at"

perform this sacrifice in order to celebrate his victory. In this victory-celebration all the people have interest and it seems that because of this there are many popular rites in the *Aśvamedha*. Some of them are of the nature of fertility rites and they are performed for the sake of common welfare of all the population. The prayer which is made in the *Aśvamedha* shows how popular interests also are expected to be fulfilled by means of this sacrifice. Thus the prayer runs- "In the priestly office (brahman) may the *Brāhmaṇa* be born endowed with the brahman-lustre .. In the royal order may the *Rājanya* be born, heroic, skilled in archery, sure of his mark, and a mighty car-fighter .. the milch-cow ... the draught ox .. the swift racer .. the well favoured woman .. the victorious warrior .. the blitheful youth .. May a hero be born unto this sacrificer .. May *Parjanya* rain for us whensoever we list ... May our fruit-bearing plants ripen ... May security of possession be assured for us ... " (*ŚB* XIII.1.9.1ff; *TB* III.8.13.1ff). Here a desire is expressed for rains. Plants are expected to be ripened etc. Thus the common-welfare is expected. It seems, therefore, that the original victory-celebration ceremony became developed and many popular rites were included in it; and it became a great "national sacrifice" as Hillebrandt has described it.³ The *brāhmaṇa*-texts have

3 Hillebrandt, "National Opfer in Alt-Indien" in Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk, p.40.

elevated the popular rites and they have also elevated the Áśvamedha by praising it in high words and established it in the śrauta-ritual.

Some popular rites in the Áśvamedha and their elevation :

There are some queer rites in the Áśvamedha which most probably are of popular origin.

(i) Killing of a four-eyed dog and plunging it under the feet of the horse is done in the Áśvamedha. This seems to be popular in its nature. This rite is elevated by saying that it is useful for removing the enemy of the sacrificer (ŚB XIII.1.29; TB III.8.4.1)⁴

(ii) Playing upon the lute is one of the details included in the Áśvamedha; and this is said to be intended for the preservation of prosperity and royal sway (ŚB XIII.1.5.1ff; TB III.9.1.14ff).

(iii) The horse is set free to move round at will for the whole year. During that year the pāriplava legend is told. This is meant only for amusement and is of a popular nature. In the course of Pāriplava legend magical tricks are also to be played which add to the amusement (cf. ŚB XIII 4.3.11)

4 For the four-eyed dog as an injurer of the fertility power and as a vegetation demon see Meyer, Trilogie, III. p.238f. Meyer understands this killing of the dog as a fertility rite.

This narration of the legend is elevated in the following words : In telling the pāriplava-legend one tells all royalties, all regions, all vedas, all gods, all beings and whomsoever the hotṛ tells the pāriplava-legend or whosoever even knows this, obtains all royalties etc., secures all the vedas and by gratifying the Gods he finally establishes himself on all beings (ŚB XIII.4.3.15).

(iv) There is a theological discussion (brahmodya) which is also possibly of popular origin. There are the questions and answers. Thus for example, "Who is it that wakes singly ?" "The Sun wakes singly" "What is the remedy for cold ?" "Agni is the remedy for cold" etc. It is clear that the questions and answers of this type are likely to have only a popular origin. But they are called Brahmodya (theological discussion) and are elevated. (For the brahmodya see ŚB XIII.2.6.9ff; 5.2.12ff; TB III.9.5.1ff). We are told that the purpose of this brahmodya is to get lustre and brahman splendour (ŚB XIII.2.6.9; TB III.2.5.1). In order to elevate the brahmodya it is said to be "obtainment of all of the speech" (sarvāptir vā eṣā vācaḥ yad brahmodya) and by means of this complete speech one gets all (ŚB XIII.5.2.22).

(v) There is an intercourse between the dead horse and the chief queen. "When the foot-water is ready they cause the Mahiṣī to lie down near and cover up with the upper

cloth, with 'in the heaven ye envelop yourselves'. For indeed that is heaven where they immolate the victim. The Mahiṣī, having stretched out the genital organ of the horse puts it in the womb with the words 'May the vigorous male, the layer of seed, lay seed'. She says this for the sake of completeness of union" (ŚB AIII.5.2.2; cp. AIII.2.8.5) The intercourse is believed in many parts of the world as a means of fertilizing.⁵ The horse is an agent of fertility blessings;⁶ and intercourse with him must have been a popular fertility rite. This rite has been elevated by the Brāhmaṇa-texts and included in the Aśvamedha (of the Śrauta-ritual).

(vi) At the time of the intercourse there is an obscene dialogue between the priests and the wives of the sacrificers (ŚB AIII.2.9.1ff; 5.2.4ff; TB III.9.7.1ff). The obscene words which signify the "koitus in words" are useful for fertilization,⁷ and thus add to the fertility power of the Aśvamedha. Meyer has remarked, "... geile Zoten bei Vegetations und Fruchtbarkeitsfesten unumgänglich nötig, religiöse betätigung sind."⁸

5 cf. Gonda, ALB, AAV (1961), p.90. cp. Meyer, Trilogie, III.247f.

6 cf. Meyer, Trilogie, III, p.240; cf. Johanson, Dhisaṇā p.169

7 See Meyer, Trilogie, III, p.246; Johanson, Dhisaṇā, p.116

8 Meyer, Trilogie, III, p.246

The Brāhmaṇa-texts, however, tried to remove the obscenity of the dialogue by interpreting the dialogue in a symbolic manner. They tried to show that the words in the dialogue help for obtaining prosperity and royal sway. Thus we read, "(The Udgātr says concerning the King's favourite wife)" 'Raise her upwards' (VS XXII.26). The aśvamedha is that prosperity, the royal sway; that prosperity, the royal sway he thus raises for him (the sacrificer) upward. 'Even as one taking a burden up a mountain' - prosperity indeed, is the burden of the royal sway. That prosperity, royal sway, he thus fastens on him; he thus endows him with that prosperity, royal sway. 'And may the centre of her body prosper' - the centre of royal sway indeed, is the prosperity. Prosperity, food he thus lays into the very centre of royal sway. 'As one winnowing in the cool breeze' - the cool of royal sway indeed is security of possession : security of possession he procures for him. (The Adhvaryu addresses one of the attendant maids, VS XXIII.22) 'That little bird' - the little bird is the people - 'which bustles with the sound āhalak' - for the people indeed, bustle for (the behoof of) royal sway - 'thrusts the pasas into the cleft, and the dhārakā devours it' - the cleft indeed, is the people and the pasas is the royal sway; the royal sway indeed presses hard on the people whence the wielder of the royal sway is apt to strike down people.

(The Brahman addresses the queen consort VS 1111.24) 'Thy mother and father' - the mother indeed is this (earth) and the father yonder (sky) by means of these two he causes him to go to heaven; - 'mount to the top of the tree' - the top of royal sway, indeed, is prosperity : the top of the royal sway, prosperity he thus causes him to attain; - saying "I pass along" thy father passed his fist to and fro in the cleft' - the cleft is the people and the fist is royal sway; and royal sway indeed presses hard on the people; whence he who wields royal sway is apt to strike down people. (The Chamberlain addresses the King's fourth wife VS 1111.30) 'when the deer eats the corn' - the grain (growing in the field) indeed is the people and the deer is royal sway : he thus makes the people to be food for the royal sway; whence the wielder of royal sway feeds on the people; - 'it thinks not of the fat cattle' - whence the king does not rear cattle; - 'when the Śūdra woman is the ārya's mistress, he seeks not riches that he may thrive' - hence he does not anoint the son of a Vaiśya woman" (ŚB 1111.2.9.2ff; cp. TB 111.9.7.1ff). It will be seen thus how the obscene words are interpreted by the Brāhmaṇa-texts in high and good meaning, and thus elevation is made. The brāhmaṇa-texts themselves are aware of the real obscene meaning of the above words and, therefore, they prescribe a verse containing the word surabhi to be uttered afterwards as an expiation for the utterance of the obscene, impure words (ŚB 1111.2.9.9; 5.2.9; TB 111.9.7.4)

(vii) There is another queer rite which is of probably popular origin namely the offering to Jumbaka. At the Avabhṛtha of the Aśvamedha, this offering is the last one. This is offered on the head of the white-spotted bald-headed man with protruding teeth, and reddish-brown eyes. This is the form of Varuṇa and one thus removes sacrificially Varuṇa (ŚB AIII.3.6.5; TB. III.9.15.2).

Johanson and Meyer have elaborately shown that Varuṇa here is represented as a god of vegetation and death⁹ and removing Varuṇa means removing the difficulties in the fertilization. Thus this rite is ultimately useful for fertilization. It is quite likely as Weber¹⁰ has suggested that the man might have been drowned in the water. But the Brāhmaṇa-texts have removed that part and avoided man-killing. They have also symbolically said that Varuṇa is removed by means of this offering and the Brāhmaṇa-texts have elevated this popular rite by giving it place in the ritual of the high type.

We thus saw the popular rites included in the Aśvamedha. The Aśvamedha, which is a celebration of the victory thus includes many rites for preserving the victory and prosperity gained. The fertility rites in the Aśvamedha have, therefore,

9 Johanson, Dhisaṇā, p.126ff; Meyer, Trilogie,^{III.} p.253ff.

10 Weber, ZDMG, 18 (1864), p.268; Indische Streifen, I, p.63.

an important role in that direction. Johanson and Meyer¹¹ understand the Áśvamedha as a fertility sacrifice; and their view is partially correct. The Áśvamedha does contain many fertility rites. But that is not all, not even perhaps the primary aspect of it. It is first a victory-celebration and then a fertility rite. We are now going to see that the Áśvamedha has been shown to product many other results also.¹²

Other results of the Áśvamedha :

It is a favourite device of the Brāhmaṇa-texts to elevate a sacrificial rite by showing its connection with many results. Thus ŚB AIII.3.7.1ff and TB III.9.19.1ff give a long list of various results. wherever this sacrifice is performed, everything is obtained; everything becomes distinct; everything becomes severed; everything becomes abounding in food; everything becomes sapful; the brāhmaṇa is born as rich in brahman splendor^{on}; the Rājanya is born as one excelling in hitting (the mark); a wide tract of forest-land will be

11 Johanson, Dhīṣaṇā, p.109, 115 etc; Meyer, Trilogie, III, p.240, 246, etc.

12 For various results of the Áśvamedha cf. Gonda Kingship, p.110f. Gonda has however very aptly remarked about the general nature of the Áśvamedha (p.114) as follows "The Áśvamedha therefore really was the most important manifestation of kingship". Our remark about the original and main significance of the Áśvamedha are similar to Gonda's observations in essence.

provided; everything becomes fit and proper; everything becomes firmly established. TB III.8.3.5 says that the sacrificer performing the Áśvamedha supersedes all the beings. According to ŚB XIII.5.4.1 the performer of the Áśvamedha removes all evil-doing, all brahman-slaughter. The performer of the Áśvamedha wins all the directions (ŚB XIII.1.2.3). Some rites in the Áśvamedha lead to the heavenly world. Thus for example there are the knife-paths to be prepared. Then it is remarked, "The sacrificer makes for himself that passage across, a bridge, for the attainment of the heavenly world" (ŚB XIII.2.10.1; cp. TB III.9.6.4). TB III.8.20.5 describes the offerings to Iluvarda and Balivarda which give life to the sacrificer and then it is remarked that the sacrificer of the Áśvamedha dies old i.e. he does not die prematurely. The Áśvamedha sacrifice is useful even to win the death, There are offerings to death in the course of the Áśvamedha. One ~~remains~~ death by offering these offerings (ŚB XIII.3.5.1; TB III.9.15.1). According to TMB XI.4.3 the performer of the Áśvamedha goes to the world with his own body. JB II.266 prescribes the Áśvamedha for one who wants progeny. The Brāhmaṇa-texts often say that all desires are fulfilled by a particular rite when they want to praise and elevate the rite. Thus TB III.8.20.3 says that one gets all by performing the Áśvamedha (cp. TB III.9.22.4; ŚB XIII.3.1.4; 3.3.6; 4.1.1; 10; 13; 2.2; 4.3.15; 5.1.4; 10; 14; 15; 2.9; 22; 3.9; 4.1.)

Connection with Prajāpati :

In order to elevate a rite and establish it in the higher ritual the Brāhmaṇa-texts connect it with Prajāpati. Thus Prajāpati is often connected with the origin of the Aśvamedha. Prajāpati created the Aśvamedha (ŚB XIII.1.41; 8.1; 2.5.1; TB III.8.11.1; 1.5.1; 9.1.1; 13.1; JB II.267). Elsewhere it is said that he desired to perform the Aśvamedha (ŚB XIII.1.7.1; TB III.8.10.1). ŚB XIII 2.1.1 and TB III.8.14.1 describe that Prajāpati gave all the sacrifices to the Gods but reserved the Aśvamedha for himself. The Gods said to him, "This is the sacrifice, viz., the Aśvamedha. Let us have share in it." He created the Annahomas for them. Here a threefold elevation appears to have been arrived at. That the Aśvamedha was reserved by Prajāpati, this shows the special connection of the Aśvamedha with Prajāpati. Secondly, the Gods describe it as the sacrifice and we then know how importance is given to the Aśvamedha. Thirdly, the desire of the Gods to have share in it shows how much even Gods were eager to have share in it. It is also easy to understand that the Aśvamedha was a popular feast and the higher Gods had perhaps no place in it. But they got it in the process of the elevation which the sacrifice has been subjected to. ŚB XIII.2.11.1 and TB III.9.10.1 say that Prajāpati saw two great grahas in the Aśvamedha and became great. The Aśvamedha is sometimes

identified with Prajāpati (ŚB XIII.2.2.13; 4.1.15). TB III.8.16.1 says that one who performs the Áśvamedha desires to obtain Prajāpati. TMB XII.4.2.5; ŚB XIII 3.1.1 we read that one who performs the Áśvamedha makes Prajāpati complete. Thus, it is clear that the Brāhmaṇa-texts have elevated the Áśvamedha by associating it with Prajāpati.

Connection with Gods:

We saw above how Gods demanded share in the performance of the Áśvamedha (ŚB XIII.2.1.1; TB III.8.14.1). ŚB XIII.1.2.9 says that all the Gods are concerned in the Áśvamedha. ŚB XIII.3.1.1 we know that when Prajāpati's eye was swollen and then fallen out, the Gods performed the Áśvamedha, and restored it to its place. ŚB XIII.4.4.11; 5.1.5 the Áśvamedha is identified with āditya. Thus the connection of Gods is established with the Áśvamedha for its elevation.

Connection with Soma-sacrificial institute :

The Áśvamedha sacrifice has been included in the Soma-sacrificial system. It is considered as a Trirātra sacrifice and TMB XII.4.1ff and JB II.266ff describe it in the list of the Trirātra-sacrifices. Its first day is catuṣṭoma-agniṣṭoma; the second day is ekaviṃśa-ukthya and the third day is sarvastoma-atirātra (TMB XII.4.1). The Áśvamedha is thus included and modified as a soma-sacrifice and thus

elevated. Connection of soma is one of the ways adopted by the Brāhmana-s to elevate popular ritual.

References to ancient performances :

In order to elevate the Aśvamedha references to the ancient performances by great kings are given. But there were slight technical changes in each of the performances except the Aśvamedha of Indrota-Daivāpa-śaunaka. Thus, for example, Para Āṭṇāra, the Kausalya, sacrificed with the Aśvamedha consisting of the normal two first days and the third day as an Abhijit (ŚB AIII.5.4.4). Purukutsa Aikṣvāka had the same two days and the third day a Viśvajit (ŚB AIII.5.4.5) etc. Here we find that there are changes only in the arrangements of chants and then there are the differences. There are no differences as far as the "popular rites" in the Aśvamedha are concerned. Thus the Brāhmaṇa-texts show how the Aśvamedha has been performed by great persons and thus they elevate it.

Aśvamedha sacrifice praised :

In order to elevate the Aśvamedha it is praised variously. Thus it is called bull (vr̥ṣabha) of all the sacrifices (ŚB AIII.1.2.2; cp. TB III.8.3.3). TB III.8.1.1-2 calls it a wonderful (citra) activity. It is called the kind of all the sacrifices (ŚB AIII.2.2.1). It is also said

to be superseding all the sacrifices (ŚB AIII.5.1.9). ŚB AIII.3.7.1ff; TB III.9.19.1ff the Aśvamedha is praised by the words prabhu (strengthful), vibhu(plenteous), vyāṣṭi (obtainment), vidhṛti(distinction), vyāvṛtti(severence), ūrjasvān (food-abounding), payasvān(sapful), brahmavarasī (full of brahman-splendour), ativyādhi (excelling in hitting), dīrgha (wide), klpti (fitness), and pratiṣṭhā (firm foundation). In order to elevate the Aśvamedha the knowledge of it has been made essential for a Brāhmaṇa by ŚB AIII.4.2.17. Because the Aśvamedha is identical with everything not to know it means not to know anything. A Brāhmaṇa is asked about how much he knows of the Aśvamedha. One who does not know of it is to be dispoiled; he is not a Brāhmaṇa. Thus the popular feast became an important subject of knowledge of the Brāhmaṇas and is elevated thereby. The Brāhmaṇa-texts identify anything with "all(sarva)" in order to elevate it. The Aśvamedha is also identified with all (ŚB AIII 3.2.4; 3.3.6; 4.1.5; 6; 10; 2.2; 5.1.4; 15; 3.9; 4.1).

Conclusion :

The Brāhmaṇa-texts have elevated the Aśvamedha along with its popular rites. Though originally a popular feast of victory-celebration and fertility the Brāhmaṇa-texts have added many aspects to it, have connected with Prajāpati, Gods, Soma-sacrificial-institute, made historical references, and have even praised it. And thus, the Brāhmaṇa-texts have

elevated, established it the śrauta-ritual and have given a good status to it.

(E) GosavaIntroduction :

The Gosava sacrifice is a very curious sacrifice particularly because the sacrificer of the Gosava has to behave, as the rules expect, like a bull, and even to the extent of having sexual relations with his mother or sister. This aspect of the sacrifice with its details makes the sacrifice somewhat curious. The Brāhmaṇa-texts are not unanimous as far as the result of this sacrifice is concerned. But it is certain that the Brāhmaṇa-texts have adopted here some popular ritual and given it the form of a Śrauta-sacrifice and elevated it. Let us see now how this sacrifice has been elevated.

Gosava - its principal details¹ :

In this sacrifice both the Rathantara and Br̥hat Sāmāns are applied (TMB XIX.13.5; JB II.113; TB II.7.6.2). This rite is throughout thirty-six-versed (TMB XIX.13.10; JB II.113; TB II.7.6.1). It is of the Ukthya nature (JB II.113; TB II.7.6.1). The sacrificer has to observe following rules (vrata): He has to unite himself with his mother, sister and any woman of his own Gotra; drink water bending himself

1 For Gosava see Gonda, The savayajñas, p. 15.

low, and answer the nature's call wherever he feels it (JB II.113). There are ten thousand (TMB XIX.13.6) or twelve thousand cows (JB II.113) to be given away as dakṣiṇā.

Elevation of the Gosava-sacrifice :

The Gosava-sacrifice seems to be originally a popular fertility-rite. The bull is many a time regarded as a symbol of fertility. Wearing the hide of a bull is done in fertility rites.² The Brāhmaṇa-texts, however, have given it the form of a soma-sacrifice. They have also changed its function. Thus they have elevated this popular rite of the masses to the position of a soma-sacrifice of the classes and established it as such. Now let us see in what way the Brāhmaṇa-texts have successfully done this work of elevation of the Gosava-sacrifice.

a) Gosava - a sthvirayajña :

The authors of the Brāhmaṇa-texts must have felt the abnormality of the vratas or the rules to be followed in the Gosava. Any kind of incest creates a sense of disgust in

2 Meyer, Trilogie, I, p.75. For wearing the appearances of various animal, e.g., bulls, goose, etc., in the fertility rites see p. 77f.

the mind of a man of culture and conscience. The rules in the Gosava-sacrifice allow sexual relations with the mother or the sister or any woman of one's own gotra, and this is certainly shocking. Some of the thoughtful minds must, therefore, have definitely felt the difficulties in performing these vratas. Thus JB II.113 tells us a story supporting this surmise - Janaka Vaideha wanted to perform sacrifice. He asked the Brāhmaṇas about this sacrifice, e.g. its dakṣiṇās, its vratas, etc. Sudakṣiṇa, the son of Kṣema, answered him that he would tell the dakṣiṇās but not the vratas. Then Janaka could not dare perform this sacrifice. This story tells us how some thinkers were rather reluctant even to tell the vratas of the Gosava and how performers like Janaka altogether avoided to perform the Gosava. JB I.113 tells another story. Puṇyakeśa Yaudheni performed once this sacrifice. While he was in the gathering of the people, he had the nature's call. Denuding himself he said, "This sacrifice was certainly for old person. An old man should perform this. For an old man alone is allowed to do this". And the Brāhmaṇa-text also limits this sacrifice to an old man only. Thus the Brāhmaṇa-texts understand the difficulties in the performance of the Gosava. But still, mentioning its performance limited to an old man, the Brāhmaṇa-texts try to adopt this sacrifice in the śrauta sacrificial system and establish it.

b) Gosava - a soma sacrifice :

As we have mentioned above, the Brāhmaṇa-texts have given the Gosava the form of a soma-sacrifice. It is of Ukthya-nature (JB II.113; TB II.7.6.1). Giving the form of a soma-sacrifice is in itself a kind of elevation. So that the popular nature of it has been removed and it has become a sacrifice of high classes.

c) High kinds of results :

The performer of the Gosava-sacrifice is said to obtain high results like obtaining svārājya (autocracy) (according to TMB & TB) and svarga (heaven). Thus TMB XIX.13.1 says that the Gosava-sacrifice is "svārājya", i.e., for the sake of autocracy. There are both the Br̥hat and Rathantara sāmāns; this is for the sake of svārājya (TMB XIX.13.5; TB II.7.6.2). Ten thousand cows should be given as dakṣiṇā in this sacrifice. For that is identical with the svārājya. To svārājya comes he who knows thus (TMB XIX.13.6; cp. TB II.7.6.2). The sacrificer is consecrated by (pouring) fresh milk (over him). For this is identical with the svārājya. To svārājya comes he who know thus (TMB XIX.13.7; TB II.7.6.2). His consecration takes place at the chanting of the Br̥hat, for that is identical with the svārājya ... (TMB XIX.13.8). At the time of consecration the Adhvaryu uses following words,

"Revajjātaḥ sahasā vṛddhaḥ ... and sends him to svārājya (TB II.7.6.3). Thus the TMB and TB mention the svārājya frequently as the result of the Gosava-sacrifice. The JB, however, mentions svarga (heaven) again and again as the result of Gosava. Thus it is said - "One who desires heaven should sacrifice with this (Gosava) (svargakāmo haitena yajeta)(JB II.113). The Gosava is thirty-six versed. There are thirty-six syllables in Br̥hatī and Br̥hatī is identical with the heaven ... (JB II.113). One goes to the heaven by means of the stotra used in the Gosava as one would go anywhere by means of a horse bound fourfold (JB II.113). There are both the Br̥hat and Rathantara sāmāns which are useful for obtaining the heaven (JB II.113). The Gosava is an Ukthya ... The offsprings and cattle are Uktha. The offsprings and cattle are identical with the heaven and this Ukthya-nature of the Gosava is, therefore, useful for obtaining heaven (JB II.113). There are twelve thousand cows as dakṣiṇā; there are twelve months in the year. The year is identical with the heaven; and this helps for obtaining the heaven (JB II.113). JB II.113 says that by observing the rules one wins the world of the ox (anaduho ha lokam jayati)³ Thus the Brāhmaṇa-texts have mentioned high

3 Caland, Das Jaiminiya-brāhmaṇa in Auswahi, p. 157
translates this sentence - "Er springt den Raum des

kinds of results of the Gosava-sacrifice and elevated it.

Conclusion :

Gosava, originally a popular fertility rite with queer rules has been adopted by the Brāhmaṇa-texts into the system of the śrauta-sacrifices. They have given it the form of a soma-sacrifice and established and elevated it.

f.n. 3 continued.

Zugstieres" and on p.158 in n.4 to this passage asks "Welcher Raum ist gemeint ?" Caland thus seems to be puzzled here unnecessarily. Here the meaning is clear - "He wins the world of the ox". cf. Caland himself in another context - TMB XVIII.3.3. "He who knows reaches the world of the ox (eṣa vā anaḍuho lokam āpnoti ya evaṁ veda) Caland Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa (translation) p. 478.

(F) MahāvrataIntroduction :

In connection with the Mahāvrata there are many popular rites and the rites along with the Mahāvrata are elevated in the Brāhmaṇa-texts. Keith has rightly remarked that the Brāhmaṇas have seized upon the popular Mahāvrata and made it their own by an accumulation of purely technical ritual.¹ Friedländer has previously to Keith said that the ceremonies of the Viṣuvat-day are transferred to the Mahāvrata-day to help to wipe out the popular character of that rite.² Though Keith does not agree with Friedländer in connection with the Mahāvrata completely we may support Friedländer as far as he has recognised the efforts of the vedic texts to remove the popular nature of the Mahāvrata and to give it an important place in the Śrauta-ritual.

Mahāvrata as a fertility rite :

The Mahāvrata is understood by many modern scholars

- 1 Keith, Aitareya Āraṇyaka, p. 27f; cp. also Gonda "Ursprung und Wesen des indischen Dramas", AO, 19 (1943) p. 347.
- 2 Friedländer, Der Mahāvrata-abschnitt des Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka, p. 2, n. 5.

like Hillebrandt, Oldenberg, etc., as a sun-magic.³ Generally all modern scholars agree upon the fertility nature of this rite also.⁴ The Brāhmaṇa-texts have connected with this rite many results in order to elevate it, but they have not removed the traces of fertility rite in it. There is a difference of opinion about the exact day of the year which is to be performed as the Mahāvratā-day. TMB IV.10.3f we read the discussion about this. "Regarding this", they say, "in the middle of the year it is to be undertaken; in the middle (of the body : in the stomach) the food which has been eaten is restored". "Regarding this", they (others) say, "if they undertake (it) in the middle of the year, they reach the (one) half of the food; but lose the other". At the end of the year eve^ṇ, it is to be undertaken, for in the (course of the) year all food ripens (cp. JB II.410.; TB 1.2.6.2). Here

3 cf. Hillebrandt, Die Sonnenwendfeste in alt-Indien (Romanische Forschungen, V, Erlangen 1890), p.299; Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p.44f; 506; Hauer, Vratya p.246ff; Gonda, AO, 19, p.346f; the same, Religionen Indiens, I, p.161, the same, Brahmavidyā (ALB) XXV (1961) p.78.

4 cf., e.g., Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, 444f; 507; Keith, Śaṅkhāyana-Āraṇyaka, p. 79ff. Johanson, Dhisana p. 36ff; Gonda, AO, 19, p. 347.

the Mahāvratā is directly connected with the food. Similarly, TMB IV.10.2 says, "Prajāpati verily is the great (mahān), his food even is this Vratā (rite)". Here also the connection of food is clear. The Mahāvratā-day is a twenty-four-versed (day); the year is twenty-four-fold; food is twenty-fifth ... Because they bring together the food after a year, this twenty-fifth (stotriyā verse) comes into existence (TMB IV. 10.5ff; JB II.414; TB I.2.6.1-2). For the Mahāvratā laud the Rājana sāman is to be made. The Rājana (sāman) is directly identical with the food; it is five-fold; for food is five-fold (TMB V.2.6-7), etc. There is the Brāhmasāman and it has five finales; for food is fivefold (TMB V.2.13). The priest udgātṛ sings after having ascended the seat made up of udumbara wood. The udumbara is identical with the food; therefore, it is for the sake of obtaining food (JB II.406; TB I.2.6.5). There is further the use of the swing. The priest hotṛ recites after being seated on the swing. The swing is identified with the mahas (festival)⁵ and then it is said that this leads to the obtainment of merriment and food and nourishment (TB I.2.6.6; cp. TMB V.5.9f and JB II. 418 for the use of the swing by the hotṛ). The swing has thus connection with the food and, therefore, with the fertility. Thus many rites in the Mahāvratā can be seen to be of

5 For mahas as festival see Gonda, JOIB VIII (1958-59) p.241.

the fertility nature.

There are some other fertility rites in the Mahāvrata of a different kind. There, they are connected with generation. Thus there is a union of a magadha-man and a woman of bad behaviour. It is for the sake of pairing and generation (mithunatvāya prajananāya). TB I.2.6.2 says that the Mahāvrata is to be performed at the end of the year for the sake of generation (prajanana). AB IV.14 we read "The Mahāvrata is the Caturviṃśa; by means of the Bṛhaddiva (hymn), the hotṛ pours seed on this day; it on that day with the Mahāvrata-day he propagates". Here also the connection of the Mahāvrata and generation is clearly maintained. Thus we see that the Mahāvrata according to the Brāhmaṇas is helpful for getting food and for generation. Thus it is connected with the two aspects of fertility.

Other results of the Mahāvrata :

Though the Mahāvrata must have been a popular fertility rite and the Brāhmaṇa-texts also recognise its connection with the obtainment of food and generation, these texts have attached some other results also to the rites done in the Mahāvrata. Thus the obtainment of speech (vāc) is the result of some actions in the Mahāvrata ceremony. By means of the use of the various lutes, e.g., kakarī, alābū, vakrā, etc.,

and by means of the use of the earth-drum all the speeches are obtained (cf. JB II.404; TMB V.5.18ff). The earth-drum is covered with the hide of a bull. The bull is the highest kind of speech and this is done for winning the highest kind of speech (JB II.404). Obtainment of the highest sap is another result. The ^amidens say, "This is sweet ! This is sweet !" Sweet indeed is done unto the gods, viz., the Mahāvrata. There is the highest sap in the honey; for the sake of obtaining the highest sap. (JB II.405). Thus the highest sap is obtained. The maidens go round the mārjālīya with full jars; for the sake of obtaining fullness (JB II.405). Thus fullness is obtained by means of Mahāvrata. TMB V.6.15 connects the utterance of "sweet" and going round to the mārjālīya to the obtainment of the heaven. There is, the race in the Mahāvrata-ceremony which is elsewhere (e.g. in the Vājapeya) famous for its fertility-bringing nature. JB II. 405 says that the race is the highest festival (mahas) and it is done for obtaining the highest festival. There is a lute with a hundred strings to be played upon. "The man has hundred years as his life; a hundred sense-powers, a hundred valours; for the obtainment of that sense-power; that valour (JB II.404; see JB II.418; TMB V.1.12f). There is an abuse⁶

6 For the ritual function of the abuses see Meyer, Trilogie, III, 318 under "Schmähung"; Gonda, AO, 19, p.352f. For

and praise of the sacrificers, by a śūdra and an aryan man respectively. This is surely a popular element and about it, it is said by JB II.404 that one who abuses, purifies and one who praises gives sense-power and valour to those who are purified. TMB V.5.13 says that he who abuses them, drives away their evil and he who praises, appreciates what by them has been well-chanted and well-recited. Thus the popular element is elevated by attaching some other results to it. We find in this way various results mentioned in connection with the Mahāvratā for the sake of its elevation.

Connection with the Soma-sacrifice :

Though the Mahāvratā-ceremony contains many popular rites it has been connected with the soma-sacrifice like the Sattrā or the sacrificial session and this connection has elevated the standard of the Mahāvratā ceremony.

Connection with the Gods :

For the elevation of the Mahāvratā, the Brāhmaṇa-texts have connected it with the Gods. Thus it is the Gods who have created the Mahāvratā from Prajāpati according to ŚB

f.n.6 continued.

this rite connected with fertility see Keith,
Śāṅkhāyan^a Aranyaka, p. 79f.

XII.1.2.3 and GB I.4.9. TMB IV.10.1 we read, "Prajāpati created the creatures. He was emptied out and fell down. To him the Gods altogether came up; they said : 'let us bring together a mighty (fast) food (mahadvratam) that they will restore him'. For him they brought together what food ripens during a year; that they reached him, that he partook of, that restored him. 'Mighty, foresooth, is that food that has braced him'. Therefore, the name Mahāvrata". "Here also the Gods are connected with the origin of the Mahāvrata. TB I.2.6.1 tells us a story of Prajāpati in which Gods cured him and then Prajāpati became great (mahān) and the TB then explains the word Mahāvrata on this basis. JB II.409 also tells us a story in which the Gods brought the pith of the regions, of the wafers, and of the food. Then they exclaimed "We bring food (vrata) to the great one (mahate). Thus here also the connection of Gods is seen. JB II.409 says "Therefore, they become pleased on this day; for the Gods pleased on this day". Thus there is the connection with the Gods which elevates the Mahāvrata-rite.

Connection with Prajāpati :

The Brāhmaṇa-texts have connected the Mahāvrata rite with Prajāpati and elevated it. Thus as we have seen above the Gods created the Mahāvrata from Prajāpati (ŚB XII.1.2.3;

GB I.4.9). The other stories of origin of the Mahāvrata which are referred to above also show the connection with Prajāpati. ŚB XII.1.3.21 we read, "When they enter upon the Mahāvrata, they indeed offer sacrifice to the deity Prajāpati. They become the deity Prajāpati and attain the fellowship and co-existence with Prajāpati". The connection of Mahāvrata with Prajāpati elevates it.

Conclusion :

The Mahāvrata seems to be originally a popular fertility ^{rite} which was adopted in the Śrauta-ritual but the traces of its fertility nature are still maintained in it. The Brāhmaṇa-texts elevate the rite by connecting it with the soma-sacrificial system, with the Gods and with Prajāpati. Thus the Mahāvrata-rite is an adopted rite and the Brāhmaṇa-texts have established it in the Śrauta-ritual and elevated it.

Chapter - VI

SACRIFICES AND ANCILLARY RITES

(A) Sacrifices

Introduction :

The Brāhmaṇa-texts describe various sacrifices and explain them. The Brāhmaṇa-texts also explain the mantras used in the sacrificial rites. The sacrifices found in the Brāhmaṇa-texts are really numerous and within the limitations we have accepted, we cannot describe and consider all the sacrifices in the Brāhmaṇa-texts. We shall, however, take into consideration the classification and general nature of the sacrifices described by the Brāhmaṇa-texts. Then we shall take into consideration the ancillary rites, so that we may be able to understand the way of description and explanation of the sacrifices in the Brāhmaṇa-texts.

(i) Classification of the sacrifices :

GB I.5.25 mentions that there are seven Somayajñas (sutyās) seven Pākayajñas and seven Haviryajñas. These twenty-one together with any new sacrifices that may be, are all performed¹ by Angirases (sapta sutyāḥ sapta ca pākayajñā haviryajñāḥ sapta tathāikaviṃsatīḥ sarve te yajñāḥ angiraso'pi yanti nūtanā yān ṛsayo sṛjanti ye ca sṛṣṭāḥ purāṇaiḥ). Earlier

1 cp. for the meaning of api + √i see Caland, Aldinsches Zauberritual, wiesbaden 1967 (reprint), p. 18, n.2.

to this GB I.5.23 has mentioned in details these twenty-seven sacrifices. Thus in the first group, (the Pākayañnas) following sacrifices are included.

Sāyamprātarhomaḥ sthālīpāko navaś ca yaḥ baliś ca pitryañnaś cāṣṭakā saptamaḥ paśuḥ ityete pākayañnaḥ -

Thus (1) Evening offering (2) Morning offering (3) Sthālīpāka (4) Baliharana (5) Pitryañna (6) Aṣṭakā (7) Paśu:- These are the seven Pākayañnas.

Agnyādheyam agnihotraṁ paurṇamāsyamāvāsyē naveṣṭiś cāturmāsyāni paśubandho'tra saptamaḥ ityete haviryañnaḥ.

(1) Agnyādheya (2) Agnihotra (3) Paurṇamāsī (4) Amavāsyā (5) Naveṣṭi (āgrayana) (6) Cāturmāsyas (7) Paśubandha:-These are seven Haviryañnas.

Agniṣṭomo'tyagniṣṭoma ukthyah ṣoḍaśīmāṁstataḥ vājapeyo'tirātraś cāptoryāmātra saptamaḥ ityete sutyāḥ -

(1) Agniṣṭoma (2) Atyagniṣṭoma (3) Ukthya (4) Ṣoḍaśī (5) Vājapeya (6) Atirātra (7) Aptoryāma:- There are seven Somayañnas.

These are called samsthās. JUB I.6.2.4 refers to seven(soma) samsthās and thus uses the word samsthā in this sense. Aitareya-Āraṇyaka classifies the sacrifices into five

classes. "This sacrifice is five-fold viz., Agnihotra, Darśapūrṇamāsau, Cāturmāsyaṇi, Paśu and Soma (II.3.3 - sa eṣa yañṇaḥ pañcavidho'gnihotraṁ darśapūrṇamāsau cāturmāsyaṇi paśuḥ somaḥ). This classification appears at the first sight to be without any principle. But if we see TB II.3.6. 1-3, there we get indirectly this same classification and it is there based on the number of the priests. Thus it is told there that Prajāpati after having created the beings lay down reduced to the heart only. He called for his body once. The waters listened to this and came with Agnihotra and gave the body with head to him. Therefore, in the Agnihotra there is only one priest. Then he called for four times. This was listened by Agni, Vāyu, Āditya and Candramas. They came with Darśa and Pūrṇamāsa sacrifices. They gave him four limbs; therefore, there are four priests in the Darśa and Pūrṇamāsa sacrifices. Then he called for five times and beasts listened to this and came with the Cāturmāsya sacrifices. They gave him hair, skin, flesh, bones and marrow - these five bodily elements. Therefore, there are five priests in the Cāturmāsya-sacrifices. Then he called for six times. The seasons listened and came with the Paśubandha. They gave him six limbs. Therefore, there are six priests in the Paśubandha. He then called for seven times. Hotrās listened to this. They came with the soma-sacrifice and gave the seven vital airs on the head to Prajāpati.

Therefore, there are seven Hotṛpriests facing to the east who call vaṣaṭ in the somasacrifice. Thus the TB has already suggested the fivefold classification of the sacrifices on the basis of the priests and the Aitareya-Āraṇyaka has the same classification without other details.

The Brāhmaṇa-texts deal with the sacrifices which are either of the Haviryajña-nature or the Somayajña-nature. They hardly consider the Pākayajñas. They seem, nevertheless aware of the Pākayajñas. Thus ŚB I.8.1.7 mentions that Manu being desirous of obtaining offspring has offered the Pākayajñas. ŚB IV.5.1.13 says, "In the fire all the sacrifices are offered; those which are Pākayajñas and the others". Earlier, ŚB I.4.2.10 in a similar tone "Through this (fire) they lead all the Pākayajñas and other (sacrifices) forward". AB. III. 40 tries to show that all the Pākayajñas are included in the Agniṣṭoma because in it Iḍā is invoked and the Pākayajñas have the form of Iḍā.

In the classification given by the GB (see above) the Agnihotra is listed among the Haviryajñas and in the other literature (cf. e.g. Gautamadharmasūtra VIII.20) also this view is preserved. ŚB II. 3.1.21, however, quotes an opinion of Yājñavalkya according to whom the Agnihotra is a Pākayajña. "It (the Agnihotra) must not be looked upon as a (havis) sacrifice, but as a Pākayajña, for while in any

any other (havis) sacrifice, he pours into the fire all that he cuts off (from the sacrificial dish and puts) into the offering spoon - here, after offering and stepping outside he sips water and licks out (the milk); and this indeed (is a characteristic) of the Pākayajña"

TMB AVII.13.18 suggests another threefold classification of the sacrifices in connection with the Cāturmāsya-sacrifices. "By means of the Haviryajñas the Gods obtained this world. By means of the sacrifices with animals they gained the intermediate region. By means of the somasacrifices they won the yonder world"(The Cāturmāsya-sacrifices are also of these three kinds, viz., the Haviryajña, those with animal-sacrifices and those as soma-sacrifices. So by means of the Cāturmāsya-sacrifices one gets the three worlds - see Śāyana's Commentary). Thus here three kinds of sacrifices, viz., the Haviryajñas the animal-sacrifices and the soma-sacrifices are mentioned.

ii) The names of the sacrifices :

We have given above the classifications of the sacrifices as found in the brāhmaṇa-texts. Let us now see how the sacrifices are named.

Names connected with the result :

Names of some sacrifices are indicative of the result which is obtained by performing them. The person who wants to

get honour, worship etc. (apaciti) should perform the sacrifice named Apaciti (TMB AIA.8.1), JB II.100 tells us three stories. Prajāpati created the beings. When created they did not honour him. He desired to obtain honour(apaciti) from them. Then he saw this sacrifice and performed it. Then the beings honoured (apācayan) him. Another story is of Indra. Gods did not honour Indra. He went to Prajāpati and told that the Gods were not honouring him. Prajāpati gave him this sacrifice. Indra performed it and then the Gods honoured him. The third story is of the king Darbha Śātānīki. Pāncālas did not honour him. He had two brāhmaṇas named Ahīnas Āśvatthi and Keśī Sātyakāmi. They performed the Apaciti sacrifice for him and then he got honour(apaciti). Thus here the name of the sacrifice Apaciti is closely connected with the result.

The sacrifice named Vighana is useful for killing away (vi-han) the enemy. Thus Indra desired, "May I kill away my evil enemy". He saw this Vighana and killed away his evil enemy (TMB AIA.18.1), TMB AIA.19.1, JB II.141 and TB II.7.18.1 have different stories but the connection of the name Vighana and "killing away" is present there also. Thus TMB AIA.19.1 we read "Indra was persecuted by ungodly illusions. He resorted to Prajāpati. Prajāpati gave him that Vighana. By means of it he (Indra) killed away all his

enemies." JB II.141 tells us that Prajāpati created Indra. Indra wanted to be superior. By means of the Vighana-sacrifice all his enemies were killed away. Therefore, Vighana has its name. TB II.7.18.1 we know that Indra was not being honoured by his own people - Maruts. He then saw and performed the Vighana sacrifice. Then he killed away the opposition. This is why Vighana has its name. Thus we find that the sacrifice Vighana is named after its result viz. killing away (the enemies etc.)

Some names of the sacrifices are metaphorically connected with the result of the sacrifice. The sacrifice named Pakṣī helps man to reach the pure worlds as if he would have wings (pakṣī) ~~helps man to reach the pure worlds as if he would have wings (pakṣī)~~ (TMB XIX.10.1ff). There is a sacrifice named Śyena which is of the nature of black magic. The swiftest of the birds is falcon (śyena); just as a falcon catches (other birds), in just the same manner he (the sacrificer) catches him (his rival) by this incantation-rite (ṢaḍB III.8.3). Thus the Śyena-sacrifice is helpful to catch the enemy and this result is metaphorically connected with the name of the sacrifice. Similarly the name Saṁdamaśa (tongs) of a sacrifice is metaphorically connected with the result of the sacrifice. "Just as one would take hold of a thing difficult to take hold of, by

seizing it with a pair of tongs, in the same manner he takes hold of (his rival) with this sacrifice" (ṢaḍB III.10.4).

Names connected with the period of duration of the sacrifices:

There are many sacrifices that have received their names from the period of their duration. Thus for example there are Dvirātras (JB II.235ff), Trirātras (JB II.241ff) etc., which names indicate period of their duration. In this manner there are the sacrifices which last for one hundred years (Śatasamvatsarasatra TMB XXV.8.1ff) or upto a thousand years (e.g. Prajāpati's Sahasrasamvatsara-satra-TMB XXV.17.1ff).

Names connected with the time prescribed for the performance -

Some names of the sacrifices are connected with the time or the day when they are to be performed. Thus, for example, the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifices (KB III.1ff, ŚB I.1.1.1ff, TB III.2.1.1ff) are so called because one of them is performed on the new-moon-day(darśa) and the other on the full-moon-day(pūrṇamāsī). The Cāturmāsya-sacrifices (KB V.1ff; ŚB II.5.1.1ff; TB I.4.9.1ff; 6.8.1ff; GB II.1.19ff; those of saumika-nature - TMB XVII.13.1ff; JB II.228ff) are performed after each four months and their name is connected with the time of their performance.

Names connected with the performers :

Some sacrifices are named after their performers. Thus the Vaiśyasava (TB II.7.2.1ff; TMB XVIII.4.1ff) is to be performed by a person belonging to the Vaiśya class (TMB XVIII.4.5). Similarly the Brāhmaṇa-sava (TB II.7.3.1ff) is to be performed by a Brāhmaṇa. The Vratyastomas (TMB XVII.1.1ff; JB II.221ff) are to be performed by the Vratyas. Thus these names of the sacrifices are evidently connected with the performers of these sacrifices.

Names connected with the first performers :

Names of some sacrifices are indicative of the first performer thereof. Thus the sacrifice named Gautamasya Catuṣṭoma was seen and performed by Gautama. Nobody was believing in Gautama. He desired that others should believe in him. Then he saw this sacrifice and performed it (JB II. 290). Similar is the case with the sacrifice named Indrāgnyoh Kulāya. Indra and Agni desired to be superior to all the Gods, and obtain equal prosperity with one sacrifice. They saw this sacrifice, performed it, and got their desire fulfilled (JB II.132). About the Manustoma sacrifice JB II. 108 gives us a story according to which Manu desirous of creating many animals and offsprings saw this sacrifice and having performed it obtained what he desired. Jamadgni desired in the same way as Manu to have animals and

offsprings and saw the Jāmadgnya-sacrifice, performed it, and got his desire fulfilled (JB II.285). Thus here the sacrifices are named after their first performers.

Names connected with the peculiarities in the sacrifices -

Some names have reference to the peculiarities in the sacrifices so named. The Antarmahāvratā Pañcarātra (TMB XI.15.1ff) contains the following five days -(1) Jyotiṣṭoma Agniṣṭoma (2) Gaurukthya (3) Mahāvratā (4) Gaurukthya (5) Āyuratirātra. Here the Mahāvratā-day is in the middle (antar). Therefore, the sacrifice is called Antarmahāvratā. AB III.43 explains the name Agniṣṭoma in the following manner - "The Agniṣṭoma is Agni; in that they praised (astuvan) him, therefore, it is Agnistoma; it being the praise of Agni (Agnistoma) it is called Agniṣṭoma mystically." Thus the name Agniṣṭoma is connected with the praise of Agni in the Agniṣṭoma. ŚB XIII.6.2.1 explains the Puruṣamedha in the following words : " Inasmuch as at this sacrifice one seizes men (puruṣān) meet for sacrifice (medhyān) therefore, it is called Puruṣamedha". Thus the name Puruṣamedha is explained on the basis of its chief particularity, viz. seizing of the men. KB XVII.1 explains the name Ṣoḍaśī of the sacrifice as follows - " There is a sixteenth (ṣoḍaśa) stotra; sixteenth śāstra. Therefore, it is called Ṣoḍaśī."

We thus see how the sacrifices have received their names on various accounts. Let us now turn to the ancillary rites of the sacrifices on the basis of the descriptions and the explanations given by the Brāhmaṇa-texts.

(b) Ancillary ritesIntroduction :

A sacrifice consists of many rites which again contain many small rites. In order to get an idea of the way of description of sacrificial rites and the way of explanations of them as we get in the Brāhmaṇa-texts, here, it may be useful to see some of the ancillary rites. Except a few, all these rites are described in the context of the normal soma-sacrifice viz. the Agniṣṭoma. As the other soma-sacrifices are based on the Agniṣṭoma with the particular changes special to those, a study of the ancillary rites will enable us have a good understanding of the common factors in all the soma-sacrifices. The preparation of the altar (vedi) is found in the context of Darsāpūrṇamāsa offerings. But it is considered here because the vedi has an important role in all the sacrifices. Secondly some of the abhicāra-rites which are so to say independent sacrifices by themselves are considered along with the ancillary abhicāra-rites in the normal Agniṣṭoma only for the sake of convenience - so that a collective view of the abhicāra-rites in the Brāhmaṇa-texts will be easily available. Let us now study these ancillary rites in the following order : (A) Preparation of the altar, (B) Dīkṣā, (C) Tānūnaptra, (D) Pravargya, (E) Sacrificial post (yūpa), (F) Animal sacrifice, (G) Dakṣiṇās, (H) Prāyaścitti, (I) Avabhṛtha, (J) Abicāra-rites, and (K) Fire-building (Agnicayana).

(A) Preparing the altar (vedi)Introduction :

The sacrificial activities are done mainly on the sacrificial altar (vedi). It would, therefore, be highly interesting to study in brief, the procedure of preparing the altar.

Preparing the altar (vedi) :

For the preparation of the vedi the Adhvanyu draws round the first line of enclosure threefold and the second also threefold (ŚB I.2.5.12; TB III.2.9.1ff). The altar should measure a fathom across on the west side. The easterly line should be three cubits long according to some. But there is no fixed measure here (ŚB I.2.5.14). The two shoulders of the altar he carries along both sides of the Āhavanīya fire (ŚB I.2.5.15; TB III.2.9.9). The altar should be broader on the west side, contracted in the middle and broad again on the east side (ŚB I.2.5.16). It should be sloping towards east and north. To the south side the rubbish (loose soil) is to be swept. Then the altar is to be covered with (fresh) rubbish (ŚB I.2.5.17; cp. TB III.2.9.12). Then there is the drawing for the second time (uttara parigrāha) (TB III.2.9.12).

Significances of vedi :

(a) Microcosm, macrocosm : The sacrifice is performed on the vedi and it is the microcosm. The happenings in the microcosm and macrocosm are dependent upon one another. In order to obtain something in the macrocosm, some ritual is performed in the microcosm. The etymology of the word vedi helps us to understand how the vedi is important in obtaining some good result out of the sacrifice as the vedi is a microcosm. The word vedi is derived from the root vid to obtain. The sacrifice went away from the Gods. ... Then the Gods found (anvavindan) it on the sacrificial altar. In that they found on the altar, that is why the altar has its name (vedi) (AB III.9). ŚB.I.2.5.7, however, says that the Gods having enclosed him (Viṣṇu who is identical with the sacrifice) on all (three) sides and having placed Agni on the east side went worshipping and toiling with him. By it they obtained (samavindanta) this entire earth, therefore, the vedi has its name (cf. also ŚB I.2.5.9). Further the ŚB declares that due to this history it is said, "As great as the altar is, so great is the earth" (cp.ŚB I.3.3.9; III.7.2.1; TB III.2.9.12; JUB I.1.5.5). See also AB V.28 where vedi is identified with the earth itself (cf. also ŚB IX.4.2.3; TB III.3.6.2.8). Thus we learn from the etymology that the relations between the vedi and earth are similar to those

between the microcosm^{and macrocosm} and therefore whatever happens on the vedi it has its counterpart in the real world also, as the effect of the sacrificial performance.

(b) Generation : In the sacrificial performance which is often described in the Brāhmaṇa-texts as a generation process vedi plays an important role. Hence is vedi identified with woman. Hence again the reason why the two shoulders of the altar are carried along both sides of Āhavanīya fire is given as follows - The vedi (feminine) is female and Agni (masculine) is male. The woman lies embracing the man. 'hereby a productive pair is made (ŚB I.2.5.15). Similarly the shape of the vedi is expected to be like that of a well-shaped woman.¹ The altar is, therefore prescribed to be broader on the west-side, contracted in the middle, and broad again on the east-side. The woman who is thus shaped is praised. "Broad about the hips, somewhat narrower between the shoulders and contracted in the middle" (ŚB I.2.5.16). As the vedi is a woman, therefore, grass is spread upon the vedi in order not to keep it naked (ŚB I.3.3.8). When, the sacrificer's wife unties the veda-bunch, it is said that the vedi is

1 cf. Johanson, Uhisana, p.56

female and the veda is male (ŚB I.9.2.21). Similarly ŚB I.9.2.24 we read, "(The Hotṛ) strews it (the veda)(from the Gārhapatya as far as the east end of) the altar (vedi). For the vedi is female and veda is male. From behind, the male approaches the female. From behind (i.e. west) he accordingly causes it (the vedi) to be approached by that male (the veda)". Thus the vedi is a representative of the female element in the sacrifice conceived as a generation process.

Conclusion :

The vedi has a twofold significance according to brāhmaṇa-texts : (1) as a representative of earth and as a microcosm (2) as a representative of female in the sacrifice which is a process of generation.

(B) DīkṣāIntroduction -

The dīkṣā is a group of various rites¹ to be performed before the soma-sacrifice.² We shall see now the performance of the dīkṣā and the significances attached to it.

Performance of the dīkṣā -

The dīkṣā ceremony is to be performed in the afternoon (ŚB III.1.2.1). After the nails and hair are cut (ŚB III.1.2.2-9), the sacrificer takes bath and wears unwashed cloth (ŚB III.1.2.10-20). Then follows the dīkṣanīyeṣṭi.

In the dīkṣanīyeṣṭi an offering is to be made to Agni and Viṣṇu. For these two deities are said to be the protectors of the dīkṣā (dīkṣāpālan) and the offering is

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- 1 For the description of the dīkṣā-rite see AB I.1ff; KB VII.1ff; ŚB III.1.2.1ff; JB II.62 ff; GB I.3.19ff; Lindner, Die Dīkṣā oder weihe für das Somaopfer; weber, Indische Studien, I.358ff; Hubert, Mauss, "Sacr." p.48ff; Caland, Henry, L'Agnistoma, p.17ff; Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p.398ff, Hillebrandt, Rituallitteratur, p.125f; Hauer, Yogapraxis, p.65ff; Keith, VBVT, p.cxi, the same, RPV, p.300ff; Kane History of Dharmasastra, II.2.p.1135ff; Gonda Change and Continuity, p.315ff.
- 2 Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p.398; Keith, RPV, p.300. Renou, Vocabulaire, p.76.

addressed to them so that they should confer the consecration (AB I.4). So a sacrificial cake on eleven potsherds is offered to Agni and Viṣṇu (AB I.1; KB VII.1; ŚB III.1.b.1). The *dīkṣaṇīyeṣṭi* is to be performed only upto the *Patnīsaṃyājas* (KB VIII.2; ŚB III.1.3.6). This offering is to be performed in a low voice (KB VIII.2; ŚB III.1.3.6).

After the *dīkṣaṇīgeṣṭi*, there are certain preparatory rites for the sacrificer. His body is anointed with the fresh butter (AB I.3; ŚB III.1.3.7ff) and also his eyes (ŚB III.1.3.10ff). He is purified with a cleanser made of the sacrificial grass (ŚB III.1.3.18ff). After the *Audgrabhāna*-offerings (ŚB III.1.4.1ff) the *kṛṣṇājina-dīkṣā* is performed and a skin of a black antelope, a stick and a horn of a black antelope are given to him (ŚB III.2.1.1ff). At the end of the *dīkṣā*-ceremony the sacrificer is declared, "This *brāhmaṇa* is consecrated; this *Brāhmaṇa* is consecrated." (ŚB III.2.1.39f; AB VII.23ff). The sacrificer when consecrated has to observe various rules (*vratas*) which we will see when we will consider the sacrificer.

Special kinds of the *dīkṣā* -

Apart from the normal *dīkṣā* ceremony connected with

the Agniṣṭoma, the normal soma-sacrifice, there are some other special kinds of the dīkṣā which are connected with other sacrificial rites.

a) Dīkṣā of the Paśubandha -

The dīkṣā of the Paśubandha is in a symbolical manner. The Ṣaḍhotṛ formula is to be uttered and either one or five libations of ghee are to be made. This offering itself is supposed to be the dīkṣā of the Paśubandha (ŚB XI.7.2.6).

b) Dīkṣā of the Daśapeya -

The dīkṣā of the daśapeya is substituted by a wreath of twelve lotus flowers which the sacrificer hangs round the neck (ŚB V.4.5.13; TB I.8.2.1; JB II.138).

c) Dīkṣā of the Aśvamedha -

The dīkṣā of the Aśvamedha is gained by the offering of the Vaiśvadeva-oblations. Day after day these oblations are offered. Their number is seven. For seven days the oblations are made (ŚB XIII.1.7.1ff; TB III.8.10.1ff).

d) Dīkṣā of the Puruṣamedha -

There are twenty-three dīkṣās in the Puruṣamedha (ŚB XIII.6.1.2).

e) Dīkṣā of a sattra (sacrificial session):-

In the other sacrifices only the sacrificer is consecrated. But in a sattra all the priests are also consecrated alongwith the sacrificer. Thus the Adhvaryu consecrates the sacrificer who is called in the context of the sattra the Ṛhapati and he also consecrates the priests named brahman, udgātṛ and hotṛ. The pratiprasthātṛ consecrates adhvaryu, brāhmaṇā & chāmsinḥ, prastotṛ and maitrāvaruṇa; the neṣṭṛ consecrates pratiprasthātṛ, potṛ, pratiharṭṛ and acchāvāka; the unnetṛ consecrates the neṣṭṛ, āgnīdhra, subrahmaṇya and grāvastut; the unnetṛ is consecrated by a snātaka or a brahmacārin (ŚB III.1.1.1ff; GB I.4.1ff).

Origin of the Dīkṣā -

The origin of the dīkṣā is connected by the Brāhmaṇa-texts to the bringing of soma from the heaven. Suparnī in order to redeem herself from Kadrū who had enslaved her, had to bring the soma from the heaven. She sent Gāyatrī to bring the soma. Soma was enclosed between two golden cups. These two were the dīkṣā and the tapas. She tore off one of the two cups and gave it to the Gods - this one was the dīkṣā and the Gods then consecrated themselves therewith. The second cup was tapas and it was identical with the Upasads (ŚB III.6.2.2ff). Elsewhere a somewhat

different story is given and thereⁱⁿ trying to bring soma, the metre named Jagatī brought the dīkṣā and animal-victims, Triṣṭubh brought the tapas and dakṣiṇā and Gayatrī brought the soma (AB III.25; JB I.287).

There is another story of the origin of the dīkṣā. From out of faith (Śraddhā) the Gods created the dīkṣaṇīyā, from out of Aditi the prāyaṇīyā offering, from out of Soma the buying of soma and so on (ŚB XII.1.2.1; GB I.4.7). Here the dīkṣaṇīyeṣṭi which is a part of the dīkṣā ceremony is said be originated from śraddhā and the Gods have active part in its origination. Still at another place the origin of the dīkṣā is connected with Prajāpati. Prajāpati desired to perform the Aśvamedha. He toiled and practised penance. From the body of him when wearied and heated, the deities departed in a seven-fold manner and therefrom the dīkṣā was produced. He perceived the Vaiśvadeva oblations. He offered them and by means of them he gained the dīkṣā (ŚB XIII.1.7.1).

Etymology and significance of the dīkṣā according to the modern scholars -

Though there are no difficulties in the understanding of the performance of the dīkṣā, there are some difficulties in understanding etymology the ritual significance of the

dīkṣā. The word is understood differently by different scholars and how to determine its meaning is also a problem. It is, now, intended to see the different opinions and how the ritual texts describe the significances of the dīkṣā. For the understanding of the Vedic ritual in the sense in which Vedic men understood it, the best help can be obtained from Vedic texts themselves³ and grammatical speculations may not always necessarily help us more than the ritual speculations of the vedic texts. We see that, on the one hand, the etymology of dīkṣā has been variously given by modern scholars with all their modern techniques at their service, and on the other hand the Brāhmaṇa-texts have also given their "ritual" etymologies with all their so-called phantastic techniques at their service.⁴ In both the kinds, the etymologies differ from one to another. The ritual texts do not try to maintain one particular etymology or one particular significance of the dīkṣā rite. It is, however observed that modern scholars have taken pains to derive the word in a particular manner to suit the significance which

3 Heesterman, Consecration, p.5.

4 On the bramanic etymologies in general see Gonda "Etymologies in Ancient Indian Brāhmaṇas" Lingua, 5, 1955, p.61ff.

they have understood of the dāksā rite. Studying the etymologies and significances given by modern scholars as well by the ritual texts, it will be better to take a comprehensive view and maintain that there are various significances of the dāksā according to the ritual works. Keith has already said that the word dāksā is very difficult to explain and derive.⁵ It is generally agreed that the word is a desiderative; but opinions differ as regards the root from which the word is formed and thereby also as regards the exact signification of the word. Weber,⁶ for instance, explains the word as the desiderative of the root daś or dakṣ "to make oneself fit for a thing" and he thus seems to understand that the dāksā makes the man fit for the performance of the sacrifice. Oldenberg⁷ understands the root dāś and explains the word dāksā as 'das Verlangen dem Gott zu dienen'. Mayrhofer⁸ also accepts the word as being

5 Keith VBYT, p. ~~cxi~~. cxlv

6 Weber IS,⁸ p.358; the same, Über den Vajapeya, p.17.

7 Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p.398; Wackerhagel Debrunner, Altindische Grammatik, a.a. p.70; cf. also Oldenberg, ZDMG, LIIA p.176.

8 Mayrhofer, Wörterbuch, ~~II~~ II. p.44.

connected with dāśati (dāśnoti) which means "will vereheren, begehrt zu opfern" and thus seems to have supported Oldenberg. ŚB II.2.2.30 has identified dīksita with dhīksita⁹ and this gives a new scope for controversy for the word dhīksita has also not been explained in the manner, satisfying all. For, Eggeling has derived the word dhīksita from the root dih to annoint.¹⁰ Whitney, however discards this giving a grammatical argument "of all the desideratives, of like formation not one comes from a root with other than a vowel"¹¹ Minard, has said in rejecting the root, "dih est improbable car la consécration s'accompagne d'aspersion jamais d'onction". Accepting the dīksā as a "rite d'eschauffement" Minard likes to prefer the root dah without accepting Hillebrandt's "self-burning" theory¹² (for which see further).

9 Sa vai dhīksate vāce hi dhīksate yajñāya hi dhīksate yajño hi vāk. dhīksito hi vai Māmaitad yad dīksita iti (ŚB III.7.2.30).

10 Eggeling, the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, SBE, 26, p.47 and n.

11 Whitney, JAOS, 14, "On the second volume of Eggeling's translation of Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa", p.10

12 Minard, Trois énigmes, II, p.263f; for the root dah see Renon, JA, 243 (1955), p.422, n.3.

Whitney, had also explained the formation from the root dah "to burn".¹³ Hillebrandt¹⁴ also understands the root dah and advocates his theory according to which the meaning of the word dikṣā is the "Wunsch sich zu verbrennen" desire of burning oneself." He supports himself by referring to AB I. 4 which calls Agni and Viṣṇu the dikṣāpālas and thus dikṣā is closely connected with these deities and the mention of Agni is, for him, very significant. He then says "die weihe gehört ursprünglich in das Ritual des freiwilligen Feuertodes". According to him such deaths were in India not seldom. He gives the example of Calanos of Takṣaśilā. He further refers to the animal offering to Agni and Soma which follows the dikṣnīyā offering. That offering is according to AB II.3 and KB A.3 for the sake of redeeming the life of the sacrificer and it is prescribed that nothing of that animal which is offered is to be eaten. For it would be like eating the sacrificer himself.¹⁵ Practically

13 Whitney, JAOS, 14, p.10; the same A Sanskrit Grammar, No. 1030.

14 Hillebrandt, Rituallitteratur p.125, the same, Der Freiwillige Feuertod in Indien und die Somaweihe, p.13.

15 Vedische Mythologie, II.349 f.

all the scholars have criticised the Hillebrandt's theory. Thus, for example, Keith disagrees with Hillebrandt saying that the evidence given by the latter is too weak. The custom of self-immolation is foreign to Veda.¹⁶ Recently, Gonda has also criticised saying "the in itself ambiguous etymology of the term is indeed no safe basis for a semantic and historical argument."¹⁷ Oldenberg had already made clear the difference between dah to burn, and tap - to heat. He, accepting the close relationship of dīkṣā and tapas says "Zur Bedeutung sei es bemerkt, dass ich allerdings der dīkṣā als unter die kategorie des tapas fallend, das Moment der inneren Erhitzung vindicire, damit glaube ich aber noch nicht in den Bannkreis ^{der} Wurzel dah - zu geraten. Es ist eben ein Unterschied zwischen Selbsterhitzung und Selbstverbrennung."¹⁸

We are going to see further how far Hillebrandt's view has any support in the vedic texts. Before that let us see another etymological effort. Güntert¹⁹ derives the word

16 Keith, VBYT, CXIII and following, the same RPV, p.302 f.

17 Gonda, Change and Continuity, p.341.

18 Oldenberg, ZDMG, 49, p.176. See, however, Renou, JA (243) 1935, p.422, n.3 "La coincidence entre tapas et dīkṣā donne quelque crédit a la vielle hypothese de Hillebrandt...."

19 Güntert, IF, Vol.30, (1912). "Zur Bildung der altindischen Desiderativa" p.98 ff. Güntert ofcourse, does not accept the theory of Hillebrandt, and criticises.

dīkṣā from the indogermanic root dek²⁰ and many of the modern authorities like Walde-Pokorny,²⁰ Pokorny,²¹ Gonda,²² are in favour of this etymology. The root dek² means "gut passend, geeignet, sich schicken, ziemen es jemanden recht machen, etwas einem gut scheinend machen² etc. This semantic basis "the wish for making oneself worthy, better fitting etc." is in keeping with the sense of the word dīkṣā. Here we may note that Heber had already understood dīkṣā in the similar sense.

Etymology and significance of the dīkṣā according to the
Brāhmanas - a) ecstasy -

Having thus, in short, mentioned the views of modern scholars let us see the efforts of the Vedic texts. GB I. 3.19 explains the word dīkṣā as follow - athāto dīkṣā kasya svid dhetoṛ dīkṣita ityācaksate śreṣṭhām dhiyam kṣiyatīti tam vā etam dhīksitam santam dīkṣita ityācaksate. parokṣeṇa parokṣapriyā iva hi devā bhavanti pratyakṣadviṣaḥ. Here the word dīkṣita is said to be connected with the word

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- 20 Walde, Pokorny, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indoiranischen Sprach und Religionsgeschichte, I.p.782ff
 21 Pokorny, p.189 ff — Wörterbuch.
 22 Gonda, Change and Continuity, p.341, n.122.
 23 Pokorny, Wörterbuch, p.p.189.

dhi (religious thought)²⁴ and the root kṣi (to go, to possess, to dwell in etc.)²⁵ During the time of dīkṣā the person who has gone through that ceremony goes to a particular religious thought, i.e. he possesses that sacred mental position which is here described as of a very high kind (śreṣṭhā). This etymology though grammatically unacceptable, can very well give us the idea of one of the significances of dīkṣā according to the vedic texts. Gonda says that the vedic texts are silent on the ecstasy proper as the significance of dīkṣā.²⁶ The present reference in Gb, however, explicitly - though not in the terminology familiar to us through the study of the practices of other societies - gives us the idea of religious ecstasy as a significance of dīkṣā. Oldenberg understood dīkṣā as giving religious ecstasy which makes man akin to divine.²⁷ The various rules and observances

24 Böhtlingk, Roth, Sanskrit Wörterbuch, III. 945, Monier-williams, A Sanskrit - English Dictionary, (1963) p.516.

25 Böhtlingk, Roth, Sanskrit Wörterbuch, II.543; Monier-williams, Dictionary, p.327.

26 Gonda, Change and Continuity, p.341. Earlier, V. Henry has said "quant au motif de l'extase, les textes ne nous en disent rien ..." in "Physique Védique" JA, 1905 (VI), p. 405. See also 406.

27 Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p.402 ff. for dīkṣā as the ecstatic practice see also Haner, Yogaptaxis, p.65 ff.

in the dīkṣā period show that the consecrated is not living the normal day-to-day life, but some high kind of life. "The practices of severe asceticism and abstinences from food, unwashed, unshorn produces a kind of religious exaltation suitable for worship of the god ..." ²⁸ The supranormal life full of religious ecstasy can be seen particularly in the rule according to which the sacrificer, during the dīkṣā period, should speak stammering speech. ²⁹ (parihvālam vācam vadati)(ŚB III.2.2.27 ff). By using such kind of speech the sacrificer obtains the sap of the sacrifice which was taken away and hidden by the Gods. This manner of speech clearly shown the signs of religious ecstasy due to which the sacrificer does not speak in the normal, human, clear way, but in a stammering manner.

b) divinization -

A further significance of the dīkṣā can be named as

28 Keith, VBYT, CXIII. Cp. RPV, 301.

29 Uddenberg, Religion des Veda. p.402 "Das Moment der ecstatischen Entzückung deutet sich, wenn ich recht sehe, wenigstens in einer Spur - der stammelnden Sprache des Geweihten - an". On parihavālam vācam vadati see also Minard, Trois énigmes, I, p.188. See also Hauer, Yogapraxis, p.76.

"divinization". The sacrificer not only possesses the religious ecstasy and becomes somewhat above human but becomes divine. Lévi clearly states "la dīkṣā est un ensemble de cérémonies préliminaires qui sert à déifier la créature humaine."³⁰ Similarly Oldenberg remarks "Bei grösseren Anlässen versetzte man sich durch die Wiedergeburt^Nritten der Dīkṣā in ein neues Dasein, in eine Welt, in die Ähe der Götter."³¹ In this respect, it may be pointed out that no scholar, as far as I know, has taken notice of the etymology given in the JB (III.358) of the word dīkṣita. "Because that deity made her abode(kṣaya)

30 Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice p.102f; Mus. BEFEO, 33, 1934, p.632.

31 Oldenberg, Weltanschauung p.163, cf. the same, Religion des Veda p.400 where the dīkṣā is supposed to be a magic intended to place the worshipper in communication with the divine essence. This view is acceptable to Keith, VBYT, p.608, n.3. In connection with this point we may also quote J. Przyłuski "Un ancien peuple du Penjab : les Salva" JA, 214 (1929) (p.311 ff), p.353-" La dīkṣā était primitivement destinée à faire de cel^{ui} que s'y soumettait l'égal des dieux sup^{érieurs}". For the "divinization" see also Hubert, Mauss, "Sacri." p.48.

in the heaven (divi) therefore she is called dīkṣitā. One who sacrifices varily makes an abode in the heaven. (tad yad divi kṣayam akuruta tasmād dīkṣitā. divi vā eṣa kṣayam karoti yo vajate). The consecrated person has an abode in the heaven because he has become divinised. Thus it is said that one who is consecrated ascends to the Gods (ŚB III.1.1.1 devān vā eṣa upotkrāmati yo dīkṣate) or elsewhere "He who is consecrated goes near to the Gods" and "becomes one of the gods" (ŚB III.1.1.8: devān vā eṣa upāyartate yo dīkṣate. ŚB III.1.1.10: sa devatānām eko bhavati.) Accordingly when the sacrificer is declared to the Gods that he is consecrated it is said, "He has become one of you; (ayam yuṣmākaiko'bhūt" ŚB III.2.1.39). In the human practice the nails of the left hand are cut first. But at the time of dīkṣā the nails of the right hand are cut first; for it is the divine practice. Again, in the human practice the nails of the little fingers are cut first, but in the dīkṣā, the nails of the thumbs are cut first. For it is the divine practice (ŚB III.1.2.4). Similar reasoning is given when it is prescribed that the anointing with the fresh butter of the right eye is made first and then that of the left eye. (ŚB III.1.3.14)... ŚB III.1.4.1 says " One who consecrates himself elevates himself from this

world to the world of Gods³². Thus making divine, is a significance of dīkṣā.

c) generation :

The next significance can be named as "generation". In making the consecrated divine, the idea of generation is slightly suggested. Lévi remarks "le procédé consiste à fabriquer un corps nouveau à l'usage de sacrifiant; presque toutes les pratiques sont des symboles de conception et naissance"³³. AB1, 3 gives the details of the embryonic state of the consecrated. The priests make the sacrificer an embryo (puṇarvā etam rtviḥ garbham kurvanti yaṁ dīkṣayanti) The water is sprinkled

32 cf. P. Ultramaré, L'histoire des idées théosophiques dans l'Inde, I. p.30.

33 Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice. p.103, also see further, for the generation element in the dīkṣā see also Keith, RPV, p.461 f. Hubert, Mauss, "sacri," p.48; Mus, BEFEO, 33, 1934, p.632, 822; H. Lommel "Wiedergeburt aus embryonalem Zustand in der Symbolik des altindischen Rituals" in C. Hentze, Tod, Auferstehung, Weltordnung, Zurich, 1955, p.107 ff., M. Eliade, Birth and Rebirth p.53 ff. the same, The Sacred and the Profane, p. 197 ff.

upon him and it symbolises the seed. Thus having made him possessed of seed, the priests consecrate him. With the fresh butter the sacrificer is anointed. For that appertains to the embryos. They conduct him to the hut of the consecrated. The hut of the consecrated is the womb (yoni) and they conduct him to his own womb. The cloth covering the sacrificer is the amnion(ulba). The black antelope's skin is the placenta (jarāyu). The closing of the hands of the sacrificer is similar to that of embryo (cp. also ŚB III.1.3.28, 2.2.26 - 28; 3.3.12). When the sacrificer being about to build an altar, undergoes the consecration, he pours into the firepan as seed in to the words, his own self composed of metres, stomas, vital airs and deities.(ŚB 4.4.2.29).

The significance of the dīkṣā as generating the sacrificer has a further shed. The sacrificer is not only born, but born as a brāhmaṇa. At the time of declaring that the sacrificer has been consecrated, even in the case of a nonbrahmin sacrificer the word brāhmaṇa is to be used. (AB VII.25). A kṣatriya sacrificer belongs to Indra normally but when he is consecrated, he becomes brāhmaṇa (AB VII.23). ŚB III.2.1.40 gives the further explanation. "The birth before the generation is uncertain. For the Rakṣases, it is said,

pursue a woman here on the earth. And so the rakṣases implant their seed in the women. He, who is born out of the brahman, the sacrifice, is truly born and therefore even a rājanya or a vaiśya is also declared to be a brāhmaṇa. For one who is born out of sacrifice is verily born out of brahman." Thus the dīkṣā is for the brahmanisation, and this also seems to be a significance of dīkṣā.³⁴

d) mystical death -

The dīkṣā signifies not only the mystical generation but also the mystical death. For there can not be the one without the other. Generation presupposes the death and death in its turn presupposes generation. This is the endless cycle of macrocosm which is reflected in the microcosm of the sacrifice. We have already mentioned the Hillebrandt's death theory and the views of others who do not agree with him. But after weighing carefully the evidence of the vedic literature, one is inclined to remark that both are only partially right neither being wholly inadmissible.

Let us now see such passages in the vedic texts which imply the dīkṣā as a death. Among the three births and

34 See Keith, RPV, p.302

the three deaths, dīkṣā is understood in the JUB as death. Thus JUB III.3.1.1-4 : " A man dies thrice and is born thrice. When the seed emitted comes into being, that is the first death. One, then, is converted into breath and is born into space. when one is consecrated that is the second death (athaitad dvitīyaṁ mriyate yad dīkṣate). One, then is converted into metres and then one is born unto the sacrificial gift. When one dies, that is the third death. One is, then, converted into faith and one is born in (his) world. "(cp. JUB III. 2.4.4.). Here, the dīkṣā is clearly understood as a death. Another passage worth paying attention to is where it is said : One who consecrates himself, kills himself for the deities and sacrifice (devatābhyo vā eṣa medhāya ātmānam ālabhate yo dīkṣate. MS III.6.7). Elsewhere it is said "One who is consecrated kills himself for the sacrifice to Agni and Soma. In that he offers a victim to Agni, this is buying off of himself. (KS AAIV. 7. agnīsomābhāṁ vā eṣa ātmānam medhāya ālabhate yat paśuṁ ālabhate ātmānam tena niṣkrīṇāti)³⁵. Further MS III.6.6;

35 cp. MS III.6.8; KPS AAIV.8, AB II.3; KB A.3. for this idea of redeeming oneself by means of an animal see Lévi La doctrine du sacrifice, p.131 f. - Les cérémonies préliminaires qui munissent le sacrifiant d'un corps divin, grâce à la régénération rituelle, sont formellement présentées comme le sacrifice et le rachat de l'individu.

KS XXXIII. 1 KpKS XXXIV. 8, TĀ V.2.2 say "The consecrated is the oblation material (havirvai dīksitah).". The next reference very much helpful, is when it is said : One who consecrates exchanges his body with Agni (MS III.9.1; Cf. also KS XXXIV.4;). For Agni is Rudra and if the bodies are not exchanged, Rudra will kill the consecrated. Thus an effort to preserve oneself is seen here. According to TS VI.2.27 " One enters into the fire while one enters into intermediate dīkṣā." and it is added that the sacrificer protects himself through the consecration and his offsprings through the intermediate dīkṣā. Here also attention should be drawn to the fact that the entrance in Agni is only symbolical and there is the provision of prosperity through this entrance. Another very important passage is TS VII.4.9.1 : "They go to the heavenly world who perform a sattra. They kindle themselves (abhīndhate) with the dīkṣās and cook themselves with the upasads ... (suvarṅam vā ete lokam yanti ⁵ye āttram upayanti abhīndhate eva dīkṣābhir ātmānam śrapayantaḥ upasadbhiḥ)". Here clearly reference is made to burning, but of course this is only metaphorical. The idea of self-burning is partially found when it is said that one consecrate himself being "fat"(pīvā) and then afterwards becomes "thin". The part lost of his body is offered (into fire) as it were (cf. KS XXXIV. 9

Pīvā dīkṣeta yadasyāṅgānām mīyate juhotyeva tat. cp.

MS III.6.6 : Karṣayate ātmānam tenaivāśya taddhṛtam

bhavati. cp. also ĀpŚS 4.34. 33-34)". "Therefore one should make oneself thin (karṣedātmanam" MS III.

6.6; BhārŚS 4.8.17)). The tapas³⁶ element in the dīkṣā is not totally devoid of interest in this respect. Though tapas is connected with the heat and not with the burning the connection of heat and burning cannot be neglected. In the dīkṣā there is the idea of self-torture, penance etc. which is represented by fasting, tapas etc.

"By means of dīkṣa and tapas, sacrifice is obtained (dīkṣayā hi tapasā vajñamaśnute MS II.6.2; cp. KS 44III.2).

Thus dīkṣā and tapas are closely associated. Hillebrandt in advancing his theory has tried to give it an historical appearance and the criticism directed against him has shown that for the historical statement no sufficient evidence can be produced which will prove that self-burning was done in ancient India and dīkṣā has same elements of that fact. It is, however, safe to say that in dīkṣā there are some hidden suggestions of the

36 Henry "Physic Védique" JA, VI (1905), p.388 ff.

tried to maintain that the tapas, the heat is the principle of life and all the rites in the dīkṣā ceremony viz. remaining in the hut etc. are for getting and preserving the heat.

mystical death of the sacrificer and the self torture found in it may also be said to support that idea. We have shown above the passages which were not mentioned by Hillebrandt and which maintain the *dīkṣā* as a death. This death, it must be repeated, is ritual, mystical death.

e) purification :

The next significance of the *dīkṣā* can be named as "purification". The sacrificer is purified, made worthy of sacrificing etc. by means of *dīkṣā*. The purpose of cutting the nails and hair, and beard is to be purified. "For that part of man, where water cannot reach him is impure. At the hair and beard and at the nails water does not reach. By cutting the hair, beard and nails one becomes purified". (ŚB III. 1.1.2, Cp.VI.1.1.1). Similar is the purpose of the bath in the *dīkṣā* ceremony: Man is impure. He speaks untruth and therefore he is impure within. The waters are cleansing. He thinks may I become consecrated after becoming pure.(ŚB III.1.2.10) The sacrificer wears the unwashed garment, The *adhvaryu* tells the *pratiprasthātṛ* to beat it in order that whatsoever part of it an unclean woman has spun or woven may become clean. Again if it is unwashed, some water is to be sprinkled upon it, so that it becomes clean. At the time of wearing the garment, the sacrificer utters the

words "fostering a fair appearance (bhadraṁ varṇaṁ puṣyan" Vś IV.2) Then it is remarked :- when the sacrificer is unconsecrated, he has fostered evil appearance and now after wearing the garment he fosters fair appearance (pāpaṁ vā eṣo'gre varṇaṁ puṣyati yamamumadīk-
ṣitaḥ athātra bhadraṁ ŚB III.1.2.19-20). This fair appearance is of course due to the purification. Again the sacrificer is purified after the anointing by means of the darbhagrass. For the darbhagrass is very much purified. (ŚB III.1.3.18). Thus it will be seen that purification is also intended in the dīkṣā ceremony.

f) strengthening -

Strengthening is the further significance of the dīkṣā. The purpose of the girdle is to get strength (ūrka). The girdle is of śara grass. The śara grass rose there where the Angirases divided the strength and thus the connection of strength and girdle is established (cf. TS VI. 1.3.3 ff.). The purpose of giving the staff to the consecrated is also similar. The staff is of Udumbara wood. The Udumbara wood is equal to strength (ūrka) and then the sacrificer obtains strength (TS VI.1.4.1). TS III.1.1.2 identifies the dīkṣā with force, strength (ojo balaṁ dīkṣā). Thus the dīkṣā has close connection with the strengthening and those scholars who have understood

dīkṣā as a desire of making oneself fit for the sacrificer etc. got support here.

Cosmic nature of the dīkṣā -

The dīkṣā is not limited to merely sacrifice. For it has in addition to it a cosmic nature. Every body that works, is consecrated as it were. The earth, is the dīkṣā. By means of it Agni is consecrated. The Antarikṣa is the dīkṣā. By it Vāyu is consecrated. The heaven (dyauh) is the dīkṣā. By it, Āditya is consecrated. The directions (diśah) are the dīkṣā. By them the moon is consecrated. The waters are the dīkṣā. By them Varuṇa is consecrated. The herbs are the dīkṣā. by them the king soma is consecrated. The Speech (Vāk) is the dīkṣā. By it prāṇa^h consecrated (TB III. 7.7.4-7) At the time of consecrating the sacrificer the Adhvaryu prays that following the sacrificer the earth, Antarikṣa etc. also should be consecrated. (TB III. 7.7.7ff cp. JB II.53)

According to the GB I 2.1 the dīkṣā is identical with the sun in the heaven. In JB II.52 (cp. JB III.359) we read that the sacrificer, while being consecrated prays to the sun "You are O deity, consecrated; it is you who take away the glamour, sense, valour and glory. Do not take away my glamour, sense, valour and glory. I

consecrate following your manner". Thus the Sun is the dīkṣita par excellence and the sacrificer follows him. Taking this into consideration we have to understand the etymology given by JB II.52, "As the wives would look at the husband without winking, so these (directions = dīśah) look at the one who is being consecrated. Because he is seen by the directions, therefore is called dīkṣita (tad yad digbhir īkṣitas tasmād dīkṣitsh). This etymology throws light upon the cosmic nature of the sacrificer his dīkṣā, as well as the similarity of the consecrated with the Sun.

Conclusion.

We have seen thus the various significances of dīkṣa according to the vedic texts as well as those given by modern scholars. The most natural conclusion seems to be that dīkṣā has not one definite significance underlying it. It must be admitted to have more significances than one. The etymologies and explanations of the word dīkṣā and the rites involved in it are indeed numerous and are given by the vedic texts with the equal emphasis and we should not give importance to only the significance in view of the one particular etymology that we may happen to have in view.

(C) Tānūnaptra

The Tānūnaptra ceremony is performed after the soma has been brought and the guestoffering is offered in honour of the soma.

Origin of Tānūnaptra :

The origin of this rite according to the Brāhmaṇa-texts is in the need of union felt by the Gods. The Gods were afraid that Asuras might become aware of their (Gods') being disunited and would seize their region. They marched in several divisions. Agni marched out with Vasus, Indra with the Rudras, Varuṇa with the Ādityas and Br̥haspati with the Viśvedevas and took counsel. They said, "Come, our dearest bodies let us deposit in the house of king Varuṇa; with them may he not be united who shall transgress this; who shall seek to cause trouble". They agreed and deposited their bodies in the house of king Varuṇa. That became their bodily covenant (Tānūnaptra). That is why it has that name (AB I.24). ŚB III.4.2.1ff gives the story as follows - when the Gods had offered the guest-offering discord befall them. They separated into four groups, unwilling to yield to each other's excellence - Agni with the Vasus, Soma with the Rudras, Varuṇa with the Ādityas and Indra with the Maruts (ŚB adds the opinion of some according to whom Br̥haspati with the Viśvedevas

went away). The Asuras and Raksases became aware of this and tried to attack the Gods. The Gods decided to yield their excellence into one of them. They yielded to the excellence of Indra. Then they decided to contrive the concord to be imperishable. They laid down together their favourite forms and desirable powers and said, "Thereby he shall be away from us, he shall be scattered to the winds, whosoever shall transgress this covenant of ours ..." GB II.2.2 gives the story in the following manner - The Gods went away fivefoldly : Agni with the Vasus, Soma with the Rudras, Indra with the Maruts, Varuṇa with the Ādityas and Brhaspati with the Viśvedevas. Those Gods spoke, "We should secure this (our excellence) from the Asuras and enemies and hold in ourselves and make our favourite forms unite." They made their favourite forms united and said, "Let him become devoid of these (united forms) who being first would be mutually disloyal". Inasmuch as they united (samavādyanta) the bodies, therefore, the tānūptṛa is so called. Then the Gods were victorious and the Asuras were defeated.

It is very important to note that while AB I.24 mentions that the Gods deposited their forms in the house of Varuṇa, the tradition of ŚB informs that the Gods deposited their forms in Indra. GB does not refer to any particular God and merely says that the favourite forms were united by

the Gods. There is a slight difference in the lists of Gods and their followers also. This shows that there were different traditions about the origin of Tānūnaptra.

Performance of the Tānūnaptra¹ :

The priests lay down together their desirable forms and favourite powers (ŚB III.4.2.9). The Adhvaryu takes portions of butter (ŚB III.4.2.10ff; GB II.2.3). The priests and the sacrificer then touch the butter and at the same time all agree upon this "Verily so and thus shall he of us fare who shall transgress this (covenant) of ours" (ŚB III.4.2.13). They pray to Tanūnapāt and take swear of truthfulness (ŚB III.4.2.14; cp. GB II.2.3).

When many persons are consecrated (i.e. at the time of sattrā or sacrificial session when all the priests as well as the sacrificer are consecrated) the tānūnaptra-butter, after pouring fast milk in it is to be handed only to the house-lord (Grhapatī) (ŚB III.4.2.15).

Significance of the Tānūnaptra¹ :

There can hardly be any difference of opinion about the

1 for the description of Tānūnaptra see Caland,
Henry, L'Agnistoma, section 45.

significance of the Tānūnaptra.² It is obvious that for getting the required result there must be full co-operation between the sacrificer and the priests, and among the priests also. In the hands of the priests, there are many powers to do good or bad to the sacrificer and the sacrificer's fate, therefore, is in the hands of the priests. The sacrifice is a continuous, coherent, complete-in-itself activity. For the accomplishment of the result, the sacrifice should be well-performed and for the good performance of it the priests and the sacrificer should not have mutual quarrels. There should not be any disloyalty. The rite Tānūnaptra establishes an indissoluble bond between the sacrificer and priests.³ The rite secures the loyalty by means of the swear. Hillebrandt has suggested that Tānūnaptra like some other rites must have originated in the customs of public life⁴ and this suggestion seems to be quite acceptable. When the Tānūnaptra is performed

2 For the significance of Tānūnaptra see Weber, Indische Studien, X. 362; Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p.502, n. 4; Lévi, La doctrine due sacrifice, p. 127; Keith RPV, p.166; 387.

3 Heesterman, Consecration, 191.

4 Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie, I, p.304.

by the sacrificer no one should be disloyal to him is the rule (AB I.24; ŚB III.4.2.9 : na satānūnaptriṇe drogdhavyam) GB II.2.2 says that one who becomes disloyal first, gets trouble (yas tānūnaptrinām prathamō druhyati sa ārtimārcchati). Thus full loyalty is assured by means of the Tānūnaptra.

(D) PravargyaIntroduction :

Pravargya-rite lasts for three days and is performed twice a day in the forenoon and in the afternoon. It is an ancillary rite of the soma-sacrifice.

Pravargya-performance¹ :

Among the Brāhmaṇa-texts the AB, KB and ŚB deal with the Pravargya-rite. AB (I.18-22) and KB (VIII.3-7) give the ṛg-verses to be sung by the hotṛ and their explanation. GB II.2.6 summarises AB I.18-22. ŚB XIV.1.2.1ff gives a detailed description of the Pravargya-performance. First the equipments (sambhāras) are collected. A black antelope-skin is

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- 1 For the description of Pravargya-performance see Haug, Aitareya Brāhmaṇam of the Rgveda II (translation) p.41ff n.1. Weber, Indische Studien, IX, 218ff; Hillebrandt, Rituallitteratur, p. 134f; Lüders, Varuna, II, 359ff; Keith, RPV, p.332f; J.A.B. van Buitenen, The Pravargya. Garbe has given the translation of the relative portion of the Āpastamba-śrautasūtra on Pravargya with an introduction in ZDMG, XXXIV (1880) p. 319ff.

taken and spread (XIV.1.2.1-2). By means of a spade made of Udumbara or Vikāṅkata wood the adhvaryu digs out clay (XIV.1.2.3-6) Then he takes an ant-hill and keeps it on the skin (XIV.1.2.10). Then earth torn up by a boar (XIV.1.2.11) and Ādāra (plants)(XIV.1.2.12) and milk of goat (XIV.1.2.13) are taken. On an enclosed mound these saṁbhāras are deposited and the Mahāvīrapot is prepared. In addition to this, two more Mahāvīra-pots, two milking bowls (pinvana) and two Rauhīṇa plates are made (XIV.1.2.15-17). He then smooths it by means of Gavedhukā grass (XIV.1.2.19). He then pours goat's milk upon them (XIV.1.2.25).

At the time when he proceeds with the guest offering, prior to the upasads, he spreads kūśa-grass in front of Gārhapatya and places the vessels thereon in pairs - the Upayamanī and the Mahāvīra pot, the pair of lifting sticks, the two milk-bowls, the two Rauhīṇa-plates (XIV.1.3.1). The adhvaryu takes the lustral water and stepping up says, "Brahman, we shall proceed; Hotṛ, sing praises !" (ŚB XIV. 1.3.2; AB I.18) and sprinkles water upon the Mahāvīra (XIV. 1.3.4ff). Having taken out a post by the front door (of the śālā) he drives it into the ground (XIV.1.3.7). Having turned round the emperor's throne-seat in front of the Āhavanīya, he places it south thereof, and north of the king's (soma's) throne-seat (XIV.1.3.8)... He throws a silver plate and then strews sand. Sheaths of reed-grass

are kindled and throwing them on the mound he puts (the Mahāvīra) pot thereon (XIV.1.3.14-15). While the pot is being heated, the wife covers her head (XIV.1.3.16). The sacrificer invokes blessing (XIV.1.3.18ff). Pieces of Vikāṅkata wood are laid round the Mahāvīra and a gold plate on the top of the pot (XIV.1.3.26ff). The Adhvaryu fans the fire (XIV.1.3.30). When the adhvaryu steps up and says that the Gharma is a glow, they step up and revere the Mahāvīra with the words "Garbho devānām" etc. (VS XXXVII.14ff) (XIV.1.4.2ff). Then he uncovers the head of the sacrificer's wife and makes her say while she is looking at the Mahāvīra, "Tvaṣṭṛmantastvā sapema" etc. (ŚB XIV.1.4.16). Then there is the offering of the first Rauhīṇa-cake (XIV.2.1.1ff). The Adhvaryu takes a rope and calls the cow and when she comes he lays the rope round her horns (XIV.2.1.6ff). After allowing the calf to suck for some time he removes it and causes the cow to flow into the milking-bowl (XIV.2.1.9ff). ... He pours the goat's milk in the Mahāvīra pot and then the milk of cow in it (XIV.2.1.19ff). The adhvaryu makes twelve offerings. He pours the split milk and ghee from the tray (upayamani) into the Mahāvīra-pot (XIV.2.2.13). He also pleases Fathers and Āśvins with offerings (XIV.2.2.14ff). He then shakes the Mahāvīra-pot upwards (XIV.2.2.17). The priest Brahman pronounces the anumantṛaṇa-formula (XIV.2.2.19ff). He then places (the Mahāvīra) on the mound and offers by means of the

pieces of (split) wood and Pūṣan, stones, Fratravas, Fathers seated upon barhis and drinking the gharma, Dyāvāprthivya, Viśvedevas and Rudra (XIV.2.2.31ff). He pours the remaining milk and ghee from the Mahāvīra into the supporting tray (upayamani) (XIV.2.2.40). He then offers the second Rauhina cake (XIV.2.2.41). He hands to the sacrificer the remainder of the gharma and the sacrificer drinks it (XIV.2.2.42). On the south-side sand has been strewn. There they cleanse themselves. The pieces of wood are to be thrown into fire. The priests then proceed with the upasad (XIV.2.2.43).

On the third or the sixth or the twelfth day (this depends upon the number of upasad-days according to particular form of the soma-sacrifice) having combined (the two performances of) the Pravargya and the Upasads he seats out (utsādayati) the Pravargya. Having gathered together all round it (the Mahāvīra-pot) they meet together upon the vedi in the śālā. The Āgnīdhra brings three bundles of faggots to the Āhavanīya (XIV.3.1.2ff). Adhvaryu directs the prastotr to sing a sāman and he sings a verse relating to Agni (XIV.3.1.10ff). They walk out northwards, along the back of the pit and the front side of the Āgnīdhra (fire-house) and proceed in whatever direction where there are waters (XIV.3.1.13). The Pravargya is to be set out either on an island or preferably on the uttaravedi (XIV.3.1.14ff). The reserve lump of clay, the two lifting sticks, Rauhina-offering ladles,

the spade, the imperial throne, black antelope skin and the fans are placed (XIV.3.1.20-21). He also places the cord and halter, the two milking bowls, the post and peg, two Rauhiṇa-plates, the two poking sticks (dhṛṣṭi) and the two mounds (khara) (XIV.3.1.22). The adhvaryu pours milk into the pot. He sprinkles the Pravargya-apparatus with water. He asks the Prastotr̥ to sing the Vārṣāhara-sāman and he sings it (XIV.3.1.23-26). Then they cleanse themselves at the pit. The sacrificer steps towards the north-east with the words "ud vayam̐ tamasaspari ... (VS XXXVIII.24) (XIV.3.1.27-28).

Pravargya with curds and whey :

At the time of continued pressing of soma, Pravargya with curds and whey is performed (XIV.3.1.29ff).

Dakṣiṇās of the Pravargya :

The dakṣiṇās of the Pravargya are as follows - The gold-plate is given to brahman. The cow that has yielded milk for the gharma is to be given to the adhvaryu. The cow that has yielded the sacrificer's fast-milk is to be given to the hotṛ. The cow that has yielded the fast-milk for the sacrificer's wife is to be given to the udgātṛ (XIV.3.1.32-35).

Pravargya as an originally separate rite :

It is very interesting to see that the treatment of

the Pravargya rite in the Yajurveda-Brāhmaṇas has got some mystic atmosphere about it. While the TB does not describe this ceremony at all and leaves it for the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, the ŚB deals with this rite not at its proper place in the course of the description of the soma-sacrifice, but at the end of it, just before the beginning of the Brhadāraṇyaka-kopaniṣad. Both the Ṛgveda-Brāhmaṇas viz. AB and KB describe this rite in its proper place i.e. in the description of the soma-sacrifice and the same is the case with the Brāhmaṇa of the Atharvaveda viz. GB. The Brāhmaṇas of the Sāmaveda do not describe the Pravargya at all. Eggeling, therefore, has rightly remarked that the introduction of this rite must have taken place when the main procedure of the soma-sacrifice had already been definitely settled.² Originally it must have been an independent and separate rite.³ Meyer sees its origin in the old nomadic period.⁴ According to Garbe its original form was just of a milk-offering⁵ and in

2 Eggeling SBE XLIV (ŚB translation V) p. XLVI.

3 Keith, VBYT, p.cxxiii, Lüders, Varuna, II, p.360; Rönnow, "Zur Erklärung des Pravargya ..." MO 23 (1929) p.128f.
Renou, Filliozat, L'Inde classique I, p.356.

4 Meyer, Trilogie, III.84f.

5 Garbe, ZDMG, XXXIV, p.319; cf. Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie, I.304, n.1.

bringing together the milk and soma by connecting the Pravargya with the soma-sacrifice he sees a remnant of a primitive aryan sacrificial system.⁶ Gonda also describes the Pravargya with a similar meaning as "ursprünglich gewiss ein selbstverständlicher und von den vedischen priestern annectierter und mystisch-ritualistisch interpretierter und ausgeschmückter milchkult".⁷ Hillebrandt had also written in similar manner. According to him in Agniṣṭoma many factors coming out of different provinces of Indian life have been included and the Pravargya, originally the milk-sacrifice is also one of them.⁸

Elevation and establishment of Pravargya :

Thus the Pravargya was a separate rite originally. But it was accepted in the process of the growth of the śrauta ritual. Thus its acceptance in the śrauta ritual, in the soma-sacrifice was in itself an elevation of this rite. In order to establish it the Brāhmaṇa-texts have still elevated it. The Pravargya is, therefore, shown to have a divine origine (see further). It is identified with the Sun (see

6 Garbe, ZDMG, XXXIV, p. 321.

7 Gonda, Religionen Indiens, I.p.153.

8 Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie, I.304, n.1.

further) and with the head of the sacrificer (see further). This is also an elevation of the rite. There are certain restrictions on the teaching of the Pravargya. Accordingly one may teach it only to someone very much familiar, well-studied and much dear to oneself (ŚB XIV.1.1.26). Thus some secrecy is attached to the Pravargya and this also results in its elevation.

Origin of the Pravargya :

The rite though originally separate, when included in the śrauta-ritual was given distinct stories of origination. Thus the origin of Pravargya according to AB I.18 and GB II. 2.6 took place when the sacrifice had run away from Gods. The Gods then crushed the sacrifice. Then they again gathered together the sacrifice and got it cured with the help of Ásvins. Though it is not explicitly mentioned by the Brāhmaṇa-texts we may infer that the Ásvins added the Pravargya rite as the head to the sacrifice and cured it. ŚB XIV.1.1.1ff gives another story - The Gods, except the two Ásvins, performed a sacrificial session. Viṣṇu first obtained the end of the sacrifice and became the most excellent. Viṣṇu being proud of his success stood resting his head on the end of the bow. The ants gnawed the bow-string and when it was cut, the ends of the bow springing asunder cut off, Viṣṇu's head. It fell with (the sound) ghr̥ṇ̐ and on

falling it became yonder Sun. The Gods divided Viṣṇu i.e. the sacrifice and performed it though it was without head. Dadhyañc Ātharvaṇa knew how to give the sacrifice its head. Aśvins obtained that knowledge. This knowledge is of course the knowledge of Pravargya. TMB VII.5.6 has a similar story in which the head of the sacrifice (instead of Viṣṇu) is mentioned to be cut and that head is identified with the Pravargya.

The stories of the origin of the Pravargya told in the Brāhmaṇa-texts suggest a significance of the Pravargya-rite as giving head to the sacrifice. As the Sun is the head of the universe and it is identical with the Pravargya, the Pravargya-performance is appropriately described as the Sun-magic. Further, as we shall see, the Sun is said to be the embryo of the Gods and the Pravargya performance is accordingly said to be connected with the generation. Thus we shall see that the significances of the Pravargya are hinted at in the origin-stories of Pravargya. Let us see these significances in the following order (a) Pravargya as a Sun-magic (b) Pravargya as the head of the sacrifice and (c) Pravargya as a generative rite.

Significances of the Pravargya-rite :

There is no one particular significance of this rite according to the Brāhmaṇas as also is the case with some

other rites like dīkṣā.

(a) Pravargya as a Sun-magic :

We find in the Brāhmaṇa-texts Pravargya identified with this one that shines (ya eṣa tapati) i.e. the Sun. Thus ŚB XIV.1.1.27; 28; 31; 2.15 etc. ŚB X.2.5.4; XIV.2.1.3 and 16 identify Pravargya with Āditya i.e. the Sun. ŚB XII.1.2.1 and GB I.4.7 inform us that the Gods created Pravargya from the Sun (Āditya): JB III.162 says, "The head of the sacrifice which was cut is the same as this Sun; and he himself is the Pravargya. Sometimes the Sun is said to be the first Pravargya (eṣa u prathamah pravargyah) and the taking out of the first pot is said to be for the gratifying of the Sun (ŚB XIV.1.2.22). The identification of the Sun and the Pravargya-rite as well as the rites involved in the Pravargya understood as gratifying the Sun, is found in ŚB XIV.1.3.3, when the hotṛ begins to recite, ŚB XIV.1.3.4ff when the Mahāvīra pot is sprinked, ŚB XIV.1.3.26 when pieces of Vikaṅkata wood are laid around the Mahāvīra. For other such similar places see also ŚB XIV.1.2.28; 4.2; 15; 2.2.13; 22; 29; 3.1.26 etc. GB I.4.8 says, "When they perform Pravargya they worship the deity, viz., the Sun. The God Āditya becomes the deity and those who perform the Pravargya get close association and the world of the Sun". Thus the Brāhmaṇa-texts imply that the Pravargya is for gratifying the Sun.

Many scholars, e.g., Oldenberg, Eggeling, Hillebrandt, Keith, etc. have already understood the Pravargya-performance as a magic directed to the Sun.⁹ Thus the Mahāvīra-pot is the symbol of the Sun.¹⁰ The Sun is the head of the universe and the rite provides the sacrificer and the universe with the head.¹¹ According to Gonda the aim of this rite seems to have been to endow the sacrificer with the glow of the Sun.¹² The Pravargya provides the Sun with the glow and the glow of the Sun is then given to the sacrificer.¹³ Van Buitenen, generally accepting the theory of Oldenberg's "Sun-magic" adds as follows : The Mahāvīra-ritual is originally intended to reinforce the power of the Sun so that it might survive the threats posed to its fire by the

- 9 For this theory see Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p.448ff; Eggeling, SBE, vol.44, p.xlviii; Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie, I.p.124, n.4 the same, Rituallitteratur, p.134ff. Keith, VBVT, p.cxxiv, the same, RPV, p.333; Mayer, Yogapradīpikā, p.70.
- 10 Meyer, Trilogie, III. 219.
- 11 Keith, RPV, p. 333.
- 12 Gonda, The Savayajñas, p. 41.
- 13 Gonda, Religionen Indiens, I.153.

rains ...¹⁴, In addition to this general interpretation he has understood the Pravargya as an iconic ritual and has seen a kind of Pūjā in it.¹⁵

(b) Pravargya as the head of the sacrifice :

The Pravargya is many times understood as the head of the sacrifice. See for example KB VIII.3; ŚB III.4.4.1; IA.2.1.22; 23; XIV.1.1.18; 3.12; 2.1.5; 2.50; 3.1.15; 16; 29; GB II.2.6 etc. "(Sacrifice) without Pravargya is without head" (ŚB XIV.2.2.48). Similarly, "one who performs the sacrifice without Pravargya performs the sacrifice without the head" (GB II.2.6). In the story of the origin of the Pravargya we have already mentioned that the significance of the Pravargya as giving head to the sacrifice is found there also. This significance is found elsewhere also. Thus TMB VII.5.6 says, "While they perform the Pravargya, they restore the head of the sacrifice". While addressing to brahman the adhvaryu says, "Sit thou undistracted; we are about to restore the head of the sacrifice" (ŚB XIV.1.3.2). At the time of Pravargyopasthāna also it is said that the Pravargya is to be set out on the uttaravedi; for, the uttaravedi is its head; he thus restores to the sacrifice its head (ŚB XIV.3.1.15).

14 Van Buitenen, The Pravargya, p. 31.

15 Van Buitenen, The Pravargya, p. 25.

The rule that the Pravargya is not to be performed for the sacrificer who is sacrificing for the first time (KB VIII.3; ŚB XIV.2.2.44; GB II.2.6) has an important bearing on the significance of the Pravargya as giving the head to the sacrifice. For Gods also performed the sacrifice first without Pravargya (ŚB XIV.2.2.44). Prior to the first soma-sacrifice the body of the sacrifice (and that of the sacrificer) is incomplete and, therefore, not capable of receiving its head in the form of the Pravargya.¹⁶ When one has already performed a soma-sacrifice one can perform the Pravargya at the second soma-sacrifice; for then the sacrifice has already achieved a body and the head in the form of the Pravargya would be suitable to it. He who is, however, versed in the scriptures, for him the Pravargya can be performed at the first time also (KB VIII.3; ŚB XIV.2.2.46; GB II.2.6); for he himself is the body of the sacrifice (KB VIII.3; GB II.2.6) and the Pravargya as the head can be restored in his case. In this connection of the Pravargya as a head, Rönnow has said that originally the Pravargya included a human sacrifice.¹⁷

16 cf. Eggeling, SBE, vol. 44, p. xlix, n.1.

17 Rönnow, "Zur Erklärung des Pravargya ..." MO, 23 (1929), p. 139.

(c) Pravargya as a generative rite :

The Brāhmaṇa-texts described the Pravargya as having the significance of generation. Geldner¹⁸ describes that the Pravargya is according to AB I.22 an obscene allegory. Of course, there is nothing obscene in this interpretation of the Pravargya because such interpretations can be found about other rites also and the Brāhmaṇa-texts describe this without any consciousness of obscenity. Oldenberg¹⁹ also discards this interpretation of the Pravargya given by the Brāhmaṇa-texts devaluating it by saying "Ich sehe in der dort (i.e. AB I.22) ausgesprochenen Deutung des Ritus auf ein devamithuna einen der zahllosen verfehlten Einfälle der Brāhmaṇatheologen". Oldenberg is not willing to accept "generation" as the "original" significance of the Pravargya. In the absence of any positive proof establishing beyond doubt the "original" significance of the Pravargya, we may at least not be far from right to say that generation according to the Brāhmaṇas is a prominent significance of the Pravargya and further hold

18 Geldner, in Pischel, Geldner, Vedische Studien, II, 1892, p.135.

19 Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p. 448, n.1. cf. also Keith, who following Oldenberg, does not accept this significance of generation - RPV. p.333. Eggeling, SBE, vol. 44, p.xlviii.

that for understanding the vedic ritual as it was understood in the vedic period itself the Brāhmaṇa-texts are the best help.

AB I.22 sees in the Pravargya rite a "Divine pairing (devamithuna)". "The gharma is divine pairing (devamithuna). The gharma is the member; the two handles, the two testicles; the spoon, the thigh-bones; the milk, the seed; the seed is poured in Agni as the birth-place of the Gods; he comes into existence from Agni as the birth-place of the Gods." GB II.2.6 has also practically the same to say; but it calls the gharma veda-mithuna (pairing described in the Vedas) (as against the AB I.22 expression deva-mithuna) and adds that this rite is to be performed in a secret manner. For secretly the pairing is done. From the fire the sacrificer is then generated again and goes to heaven (GB II.2.6), or attains the deities (AB I.22).

The generation idea can also be seen in the rule that whosoever either teaches or partakes of the pravargya has to observe "the same vow as in the creation" (ŚB XIV.1.2.26; 3.2.31).

During the performance of the Pravargya the adhvaryu uncovers the head of the sacrificer's wife and while she is looking at the Mahāvira makes her say "Together with Tvastṛ

we will serve thee". Then it is remarked - The Pravargya is a male and the wife is a female. Thus a productive pair is made here. Here also generation is clearly expressed.

It is well-known that the Rakṣases or evil-spirits are notorious for their aggressiveness against the newly born children and the generation in general.²⁰ For the sake of safe, secure and easy generation the inimical evil spirits are to be removed and protection from them is sought for in the Brāhmaṇa-texts. As the Pravargya is a generation process protection is important here also. Gods themselves had taken care to protect the Pravargya. They ~~were~~ afraid that the evil destructive spirits would destroy the Pravargya. Therefore, they closed the space. Now also there is an enclosed space (parisṛita) for the purpose of removing the evil spirits (ŚB XIV.1.2.16). Again care is taken by placing gold for removing the evil spirits (ŚB XIV.1.3.14) for other examples see ŚB XIV.1.3.16; 19; 20; 21; 22; 23; 29. The singing of sāman is also for the sake of protection. For "the sāman is a killer of the injuring evil spirits" (ŚB XIV.3.1.10ff). ŚB XIV.1.4.2 calls the Sun the embryo of the Gods (esa vai garbho devānām ya esa tapati). Thus we see the idea of the Pravargya as a Sun-magic and generation-

20 cf. Meyer, Trilogie, I.136.

process are interrelated. As the Sun is the head of the universe the significance of Pravargya as giving the head to the sacrifice is also interrelated.

Conclusions :

1) The Pravargya, originally a separate rite of milk, was included, elevated, and established in the soma-sacrifice.

2) It has three main significances - (a) a Sun-magic, (b) giving head to the sacrifice and (c) generation-process. These significances have some interrelation which can be seen in the stories of the origin of the Pravargya given by the Brāhmaṇa-texts.

(E) Sacrificial post (yūpa)Introduction :

The sacrificial post (yūpa) has an essential function in the animal-sacrifice¹ and to this post the victim is bound. The Brāhmaṇa-texts deal with the sacrificial post with numerous details which are not directly connected with the animal-sacrifice as such; therefore, instead of considering it in the section on the animal-sacrifice let us study it separately.

Origin of the sacrificial post according to the Brāhmaṇas :

The origin of the sacrificial post occurred when there was a difficulty created by cattle. "Cattle would not serve the Gods for slaying as food. They having departed kept disputing - "Ye shall not slay us ! not us !" Then the Gods saw this post as a thunderbolt. They raised it up against them. Fearing it, the cattle came back. Afterwards the cattle served as food to the Gods ... " (AB II.3). ŚB III. 7.3.1f has the same story with some difference. Animals did not at first submit thereto that they should become food. They used to walk two- footed and erect like man. The Gods then perceived the thunderbolt viz. the sacrificial

1 cf. Keith, RPV, p. 324.

post. They raised it and from fear thereof the animals shrunk together, became fourfooted, and became food. Therefore, the animal is immolated only at the sacrificial post and not without the sacrificial post (tasmād yūpa eva paśum ālabhante narte yūpāt kadācana - ŚB III.7.3.1-2).

Another story connects the origin of the sacrificial post with Indra. Indra hurled the thunderbolt at Vṛtra and that thunderbolt which was hurled became fourfold. Then there were the wooden sword (sphya), the sacrificial post (yūpa), the chariot and the śara (ŚB I.2.4.1). Thus the sacrificial post has been originated from Indra's thunderbolt.

In all these stories we find that the origin of the sacrificial post has some connection with the thunderbolt (vajra) the significance of which we shall see afterwards. Secondly, the origin is divine one.

Etymology of word yūpa according to the Brāhmaṇas :

The Brāhmaṇas generally connect the word yūpa with the verbal forms like yopayitvā or ayopayan which are derived from the root yup, meaning to efface, to scatter, debare, conceal etc. According to the Brāhmaṇa-texts when the Gods by means of the sacrifice went to the heaven, they wanted that the sacrifice should not be known to the men and seers and then they effaced or scattered (ayopayan) the sacrifice

by means of the yūpa; therefore, it is called yūpa (AB II.1; cp. ŚB III.1.4.3; 2.2.2; 11; 28; 4.3.15; 7.1.27; cp. also ŚB I.6.2.1ff). According to this etymology it seems that the Gods had used yūpa for concealing the sacrifice.

ṢaḍB IV.4.11, however, derives the word differently. "The Gods resorted to Prajāpati. (Having obtained) his consent, they hurled (praharanti) raised (āropayanti) and struggled (āyodhayanti) (with the asuras). That is yūpatva of the yūpa". Although this etymology of the word yūpa from the roots ā plus rūh and ā plus yudh is too farfetched the function of the yūpa are explained thereby. The yūpa serves to ward off the demons. The Gods also in this story are told to have removed the Asuras by means of the yūpa. This is supported when we know that the yūpa is identical with the vajra (thunderbolt) and serves to kill the enemy (vajro vai yūpo vajrenaivāsmāi bhrātrvyam praharati - ṢaḍB IV.4.2).

Material of the sacrificial post :

The sacrificial post is made up of the wood of various kinds of trees. For the normal soma-sacrifice the sacrificial post is made of the Khadira wood. This yūpa is to be made by one who desires to obtain the heaven (AB II.1; KB X.1).

The Gods obtained the heaven by means of the yūpa made of the Khadira-wood and the sacrificer also wins the heaven by means of it (AB II.1). ŚB III.6.2.12 tells us how the khadira wood is connected with the soma. When Gāyatrī had gone to the heaven for bringing soma, she took possession (ācakhāda) of it by means of a stick of Khadira-wood. Therefore, it has the name Khadira and because she took possession (ākhidat) of soma, therefore, the sacrificial post is of Khadira-wood. According to AB II.1 for one who desires food and prosperity (puṣṭi) the yūpa is to be made of Bilva-wood. "Year by year, Bilva is taken. This is the form of food. The yūpa should be covered with branches upto the root. This is the form of prosperity". KB X.I mentions only the desire of food in connection with the Bilva and not the desire of prosperity. One who desires brilliance (tejas) and brahman-splendour should make the post of Palāśa-wood. "The Palāśa is the brilliance and brahman-splendour of the trees; brilliant and possessor of Brahman-splendour he becomes who knowing thus makes the post of Palāśa" (AB II.1). KB X.1 mentions only the desire of brilliance in connection with the Palāśa. In order to impress the importance of the post of Palāśa-wood it is said, "He who makes the sacrificial post other than of Palāśa-wood, performs the animal-sacrifice without soma and he who makes the post of Palāśa-wood makes it with Soma (ŚB XI.7.2.8).

ṢaḍB IV.4.6, however, connects the desire and the woods differently. There, Palāśa-wood is prescribed for one who desire prosperity (puṣṭi); Bilva-wood for one who desires brahman-splendour; Udumbara-wood for one who desires food; Khadira-wood for one who desires strength (bala); Vibhītaka and Rājavr̥kṣa-wood for one who has rivals; Kramuka, and Āsvattha-wood or stone for one who desires fame; any wood which is fit for the sacrifice for one who desires cattle. Here stone is also mentioned along with the different kinds of wood as a material of the sacrificial post.

Particularities about the yūpa in particular sacrifices :

In the Āsvamedha sacrifice the number of yūpas is twentyone. The central yūpa is of Rajjudāla-wood. On both sides thereof stand two posts of Pitura-wood, six of Bilva-wood (three on each of the two sides); six of Khadira-wood (three on each of the two sides); and six of Palāśa-wood (three on each of the two sides) (ŚB XIII.4.4.5; TB III.8.20.1-2; TMB XXI.4.13). For the Śyena-sacrifice the yūpa is of Tailvaka or Bādhaka-wood and it must have a point like sword (sphya) (ṢaḍB III.8.16).

Different results of different nature of the wood :

Different results occur according to the different nature of the wood used for the sacrificial post. Thus ŚB

XI.7.3.1-3 following details are given. "The yūpa which has much substance, is not auspicious to cattle. Therefore, one who desires cattle should not make such a one. Such a post which is of little hardness is auspicious to cattle, therefore, such a post is to be made for one who desires cattle. Such a post which is crooked and has a top like a spit is called kapotī. One who makes such a post goes to yonder world before his full measure of life. Therefore, one wishing for long life should not make such a post. The post which is bent on at the top, and bent outwards in the middle is a type of hunger (aśanāyā). If such a post is made, the dependents of the sacrificer will be hungry; but the post which is bent at the top and inwards in the middle is a type of food and one also wishes food should make the post of this type (cp. for this last kind of post KB X.1).

Kinds of yūpa to be avoided and to be made :

The following kinds of yūpa are to be avoided :

Knotted (gaḍula), injured (vraṇila), distorted (i.e. turned towards the left) (vyāvṛtta), lopped (kuṭhi), bent (kubja), pointed (śūla), burnt (by a forest fire) (dagdha), sapless (śuṣka), hollow (suṣira), affected by wood-worms (ghuṇa-dagdha) (ṢaḍB IV.4.7). This rule is obvious in its significance. The sacrifice which is the norm par excellence does not allow anything abnormal and, therefore, these

abnormal kinds are to be avoided. The following kinds are recommended by ṢaḍB IV.4.8 - the yūpas of the tree which turn towards the right (śuddhāvartāḥ), regular and smooth ones (anupūrvasamāḥ). ṢaḍB IV.4.1 says that the yūpa should be of a tree with milky juice (sakṣīra) and which is thick at the root (sthūlam mūle) and has a hair-like (vālāgra) point and is congruent (anurūpa) (to the desires etc.),

Size of the yūpa :

The size of the sacrificial post has its own significance. If one wishing to perform animal-sacrifice makes the sacrificial post of one cubit, one wins this world; if of two cubits then the antarikṣa-world; if of three cubits then the heavenly world; if of four cubits, one wins the regions. For a normal animal-sacrifice, however, the post should be of three or four cubits long. For a soma-sacrifice a post is to be made which is still longer (ŚB XI.7.4.1). KB X.1 gives the symbolism of the particular length of the sacrificial post. "It should be three cubits with the symbol of these worlds; four cubits with the symbol of cattle; five cubits with the symbol of the Pañkti, six cubits with the symbol of the season⁵, seven cubits with the symbol of the metres, eight cubits with the symbol of the Gāyatrī, nine cubits with the symbol of the Brhatī, ten cubits with the symbol of the Virāj, eleven cubits with the symbol of the

Triṣṭubh, twelve cubits with the symbol of the Jagatī.

These measures are suitable forms of the post. One suitable form should be produced and make the post". Though here various measures are given, it is further said, in the same paragraph, that according to some thinkers one should not measure the post at all. It should be, according to them, unmeasured, for they argue "the measured by the measured one wins; the unmeasured by the unmeasured. It (the unmeasured one) serves to win the incommensurable. Kauṣītaki's opinion is also similar to this. According to him, the decision of the length of the post should depend upon one's discretion. Vājapeya-yūpa, however, must be of seventeen cubits (KB X.1). ŚB III.6.4.18ff has somewhat similar options about length; but it gives two additional possibilities, viz., the yūpa of thirteen cubits (for there are thirteen months in a year) and of fifteen cubits; (for the thunderbolt is the fifteenth).

Rites connected with the yūpa² :

Before the cutting of wood for the sacrificial post, an offering is made with a verse addressed to Viṣṇu. Then

2 For these see Schwab, Das altindische Thieropfer, p.2ff; Caland, Henry, L'Agnistoma, sections 88ff; Keith, RPV, 325.

the tree is touched. After placing a blade of darbha-grass on the tree, cutting is made (ŚB III.6.4.1-27). After digging a hole, barley corns are thrown there. Then the yūpa is sprinkled. The remaining water is poured into the hole. Then barhis-grass is strewn. Then the chip which is cut at the time of the cutting of the post is put in the hole. Then a spoonful of ghee is offered into the hole (ŚB III.7.1.1-10). Before raising the post, it is anointed (ŚB III.7.1.11-13; cp. AB II.2; KB X.2). At the same time the top-ring (caṣāla) is also anointed (ŚB III.7.1.12). Then the yūpa is raised; planted, earth is heaped around it and is pressed and then water is poured thereupon (ŚB III.7.1.14-16). After the top-ring is looked at the yūpa is girdled with a rope of kuśa-grass (ŚB III.7.1.18-21). Then a chip of the yūpa is inserted (ŚB III.7.1.22ff). At the time of the animal-sacrifice the animal is to be tied to the post (ŚB III.7.3.1; 3).

There is a doubt raised whether the post should stand after the sacrifice is finished or it should be thrown into the fire (AB II.1). According to the AB it should stand for one who desires cattle. It is to be thrown into the fire for one who desires to go to heaven (AB II.1). But AB (II.1) says that the later generations began to throw only the chip of the post into the fire. Thus both the results, viz., of

standing of the post as well as that of throwing down it in the fire are obtained. According to ŚB III.7.1.28ff also the chip alone is to be thrown into the fire.

Significances of the sacrificial post³ :

The sacrificial post is so important that it is indispensable for an animal-sacrifice. "Never do they immolate an animal without a sacrificial post (na vā rte yūpāt paśum ālabhante kadācana)" (ŚB III.7.3.1). Further, "They immolate an animal only at a sacrificial and never without a sacrificial post (yūpa eva paśum ālabhante narte yūpāt kadācana)" (ŚB III.7.3.2).

Significances of the sacrificial post are told variously. It has once served both ^{for} the hiding (in the case of the Gods) and for discovering [^] out (in the case of seers and men) the sacrifice. Thus AB II.1 tells us that when the Gods after scattering or effacing the sacrifice by means of the sacrificial post, the seers and men tried to search the sacrifice and they obtained the sacrifice when they found the sacrificial post.

3 For the significances of the sacrificial post mentioned shortly see Gonda, Religionen Indiens, I.146.

a) Yūpa and Vajra identical :

The sacrificial post is generally believed to be a symbol of phallus⁴ and the identification of the sacrificial post with the vajra which also has among many other meanings a meaning as phallus and this helps the supposition that the yūpa represents phallus. The caṣāla or the top-ring is accordingly a symbol of the female organ.⁵ So the yūpa has the significance from fertility, generation, etc., point of view. The role of the yūpa in the Vājapeya in which the sacrificer ascends upon it is also connected with food, fertility, etc.

In the Brāhmaṇa-texts there is always growth in the ritual as well as multiplication in the significances of the rites. So the yūpa has many other significances. The further significance is, therefore, removing away the evil beings and protection from them, etc., which is also connected with the identification of yūpa and vajra. Vajra is a powerful

4 Meyer, Trilogie, III.193 - "Auch der Tieropferpfosten (yūpa) scheint mir ein Phallus Symbol zu sein und einen gewissen Zusammenhang mit dem Indrabaum zu stehen" III.184; Gonda, Viṣṇuism, p.81.

5 Meyer, Trilogie, III.194.

weapon which kills the enemies, evil beings, etc. and serves protects the possessor. So the yūpa ~~serves~~ the same purpose in connection with the performer of the ritual.

The yūpa is identified with vajra (thunderbolt)⁶.

We have seen how one of the origin-stories connects the yūpa with the vajra (Śb I.2.4.1). AB II.1 says, "The post is a thunderbolt. It should be made of eight corners (aṣṭāśri). For the thunderbolt is of eight corners. This he (the sacrificer) hurls as a weapon at the rival who hates him to lay him low who is to be laid low by him. The post is a thunderbolt. It stands erect as a weapon against the foe. Therefore, also to him whom he hates there is displeasure in seeing, 'This is N.N.'s post, this is N.N.'s post'." Similarly KB X.1 says, "The sacrificial post, verily is the thunderbolt. In that they erect the post on the fast day verily thus they smite away the evil spirit (pāpman) of the sacrificer by means of a thunderbolt". The reason why there are eleven sacrificial posts is also that there are eleven letters in the Triṣṭubh metre and Triṣṭubh is identical with vajra. Then the sacrificer kills the evil spirit by means of this vajra (ŚB XIII.6.1.4). Thus the yūpa works against the enemy, evil spirit, etc.

6 cf. Gonda, Viṣṇuism, p. 82, n.10.

In the rites connected with the yūpa also removing evil spirits, enemies, protection, from them etc. are mentioned with emphasis. Thus at the time of digging the hole, where the sacrificial post is to be planted, a formula is uttered, "Herewith I cut off the necks of the Rakṣas (Idam ahaṃ rakṣasāṃ grīvā api kṛntāmi)". Then it is remarked - The spade is thunderbolt with the thunderbolt he thus cuts of the necks of the evil beings (ŚB III.7.1.2). At the time of throwing barley following words are uttered, "Thou art barley (yava) keep away from us the haters, keep away the enemies (yovo'si yavayāsmād dveṣo yavayārātīḥ) (ŚB III.7.1.4). The sprinkling of the yūpa is for protecting these worlds (ŚB III.7.1.5). At the time of offering ghee into the hole also the purpose is given that by means of ghee which is identical with the thunderbolt the evil spirits are removed and a provision is made for their not coming up from below (ŚB III.7.1.10). Thus the rites connected with the yūpa are useful for removing the evil spirits etc. and securing protection.

The further stage of the yūpa and vajra identification is to gain something positively after having killed the enemy. Thus ŚB III.7.2.1 - "As large as the altar is so large is the earth. The sacrificial posts are thunderbolts & by means of these thunderbolts one obtains possession of

this earth and excludes one's enemies (sapatna) from therein". Not only the earth but also all these worlds are said to be obtained by means of the yūpa. "The sacrificial post is thunderbolt and (it is raised) for the conquest of these worlds. With that thunderbolt one gets these worlds and deprives his enemies of their share in these worlds" (ŚB III.7.1.14).

b) Yūpa in the Vajapeya :

In the Vājapeya sacrifice the sacrificer and his wife ascend the sacrificial post. This post is seventeen cubits long (saptadaśārthī). Prajāpati is also connected with the figure seventeen. Thereby Prajāpati is obtained (ŚB V.2.1.7; TB I.3.7.2). Obtaining the heavenly world is also possible by means of yūpa. because there are eight corners of the sacrificial post in the Vājapeya and it is said that one obtains the world of Gods (devaloka) by means of it (ŚB V.1.5.1; 2.1.5). Further the yūpa of the Vājapeya is described as a bridge (setu) by means of which the sacrificer can go to the heaven (TB I.3.7.5). After ascending the sacrificial post, the sacrificer and his wife say, "We have reached the light, the Gods, we have become immortal" etc. (ŚB V.2.1.9ff). The sacrificial post is often said to be belonging to Viṣṇu (e.g. ŚB III.6.4.1; 7.1.17 etc.) and it is well-known that Viṣṇu has traversed the worlds and

has gone to the highest point in the heaven. Accordingly by means of ascending the yūpa one is said to have gone to the heavenly world.⁷ Thus the sacrificial yūpa serves to obtain heaven.

Finally, as usual, the sacrificial post which has eight corners is said to be useful "in obtaining all the desires (sarveṣāmeva kāmānām aṣṭyai)" (KB 1.1).

Conclusion :

1) The sacrificial post is a very essential factor of the animal-sacrifice.

2) The sacrificial post which is identical with vajra has a Phallic nature and a connection with fertility. But though this is true, the yūpa and vajra identification is ~~xx~~ also significant for removing enemies, evil spirits etc.

3) The sacrificial post is further connected with many other results such as obtaining Prajāpati, obtaining heaven and finally obtaining all the desires.

7 cf. Gonda, Visnuism, p.83.

(f) Animal SacrificeIntroduction :

The animal-sacrifice¹ is a part of the Soma-sacrifice and is performed on the day of the soma-pressing and offering. Among the seven haviryajñas the animal-sacrifice is also separately mentioned as a kind of haviryajñas and is named as Paśubandha. (cf. GB I.5.7). In ŚB XI.7.1.1ff, we get a short description of the Paśubandha. The animal-sacrifice as a part of the Soma-sacrifice is, however, described in details by ŚB III.6.4.1ff. ŚB XI.7.2.1 explains the distinctive nature of the Paśubandha by mentioning the two kinds of the animal-sacrifice as follows : "One animal-sacrifice is of the Haviryajña order and the other of the soma-sacrifice. Of the haviryajña order is that at which he (the adhvaryu) brings him (the sacrificer) the fast food, leads water forward and pours out a jarful of water and at which (the sacrificer) strides the Viṣṇu-strides. The animal-sacrifice of the order of the Soma-sacrifice is that at which these rites are not performed". In the Brāhmaṇa-texts we do not get detailed

1 For the description of the animal-sacrifice see Weber, Indische Studien, X (1867 f) p.344ff. J. Schwab, Das altindische Thieropfer; A.Hillebrandt, Rituallitteratur p.121; J. Gonda, Religionen Indiens, I. p.147ff.

description of the Paśubandha. Therefore, we shall see the description of the animal-sacrifice included in the soma-sacrifice only. The significance and allied problems of both the animal-sacrifices are the same. Therefore, they will be seen together.

Performance of the animal-sacrifice in the Soma-sacrifice :

The performance of the animal-sacrifice begins with the cutting and erecting of the sacrificial post (yūpa) (ŚB III.6.4.1ff). The adhvaryu takes a straw and drives the animal up (ŚB III.7.3.8). Having made a noose he throws it over the victim and binds it (ŚB III.7.4.1-3). Water is sprinkled upon the victim (ŚB III.7.4.4). The hotṛ having sat down upon the hotṛ's seat, urges and thus urged the adhvaryu takes the two spoons (ŚB III.8.1.1). Then the hotṛ recites the eleven āpri-verses (AB II.4; cp. ŚB III.8.1.2). These are the eleven fore-offerings (prayājas) (ŚB III.8.1.3). The adhvaryu takes the chip of the sacrificial post and anointing both the slaughtering knife and the chip at the top with ghee from the juhū-spoon, he touches the sacrificial victim. Then he conceals the chip of the post (ŚB III.8.1.5). The adhvaryu orders the hotṛ to recite to Agni circumbient; then the agnīdh priest taking a fire-brand carries fire around (the victim). He carries it around the place where the victim is cooked (ŚB III.8.1.6). Taking a new firebrand he walks

in front of the animal. The animal is led to the slaughtering place. The pratiprasthātṛ holds on to it from behind by means of two spits (vapāśrapañī); the adhvaryu holds on to the pratiprasthātṛ and the sacrificer to the adhvaryu (ŚB III.8.1.9). In front of the place where the animal is cut up, the adhvaryu throws down a stalk of grass (ŚB III.8.1.14). They then step back (to the alter) and sit down turning towards the āhavanīya. The animal is immolated, that is stifled or smothered to death (ŚB III.8.1.15). Before the strangling the adhvaryu makes an offering (ŚB III.8.1.16). When the animal is quieted the sacrificer's wife is called. There she cleanses with the water the openings of the vital airs of the victim (ŚB III.8.2.1ff). With one half or the whole of the water that is left, the adhvaryu and the sacrificer sprinkle the animal (ŚB III.8.2.7ff). They turn the victim over so as to lie on its back. The adhvaryu puts a stalk of grass thereon (ŚB III.8.2.12). The animal is then cut (ŚB III.8.2.13ff) and when the omentum is pulled out (ŚB III.8.2.16ff) it is heated on the cooking fire (ŚB III.8.2.18ff). The pratiprasthātṛ then roasts it (ŚB III.8.2.20). The offering of omentum is made in five layers; the melted butter, then a piece of gold, then the omentum, then again a piece of gold and then again the melted butter (AB II.14; cp. ŚB III.8.2.17ff). The priests then cleanse themselves over the pit (cātvala) (ŚB III.8.2.30). A sacrificial cake

for the same deities to which the animal is offered is to be prepared and offered (ŚB III.8.3.1-2). Then the animal is cut (ŚB III.8.3.3). The adhvaryu tells the śamitr̥ (the slaughterer) how to answer the question about whether the sacrificial food is cooked and then asks that question and gets the expected answer (ŚB III.8.4.1ff). Then after the basting of the heart of the animal with clotted ghee, the animal is taken between the sacrificial post and the āhavanīya fire (ŚB III.8.3.10). Adhvaryu tells the hotṛ to recite for the offering to the Manotā deity (AS II.10; ŚB III.8.3.14). Then the portions are made from the various parts of the body of the animal (ŚB III.8.3.15ff). Then the offering is made to Agni and Soma (ŚB III.8.3.29). In the interval between the two half-verses of the offering-verses an oblation of grass is made to the Viśvedevas (ŚB III.8.3.30). Then follow the offerings to the Lord of Forest (Vanaspati), Agni sviṣṭakṛt and the Quarters (diśah) (ŚB III.8.3.31-35). The adhvaryu touches what remains of the victim (ŚB III.8.3.36-37). Then he makes the after-offerings (anuyājas) (ŚB III.8.4.7ff) and the pratiprasthātr̥ the by-offerings (upayājas) (ŚB III.8.4.10ff) which are followed by additional by-offerings (atyupayājas) (ŚB III.8.4.18-5.5). Then the patnīsamāyājas are offered with the tail (ŚB III.8.5.6). Then the avabhṛtha is symbolically done with the heart-spit (ŚB III.8.5.8ff).

This is the normal animal-sacrifice in the normal soma-sacrifice viz., Agniṣṭoma. Variations about the number of the victims, colours of them, the deities to which they are offered etc. occur according to the desire with which those animal-sacrifices are performed. But the normal procedure is always the same in essence.

Significance of the Vapā-offering :

The significance of the vapā (omentum) offering is connected with the generation and immortality of the sacrificer. Before mentioning that let us see the importance and use of the vapā-offering. In the animal-sacrifice the offering of the vapā has its own importance. The importance of this offering is told as follows :

The Gods obtained the heaven only after the offering of the omentum. The seers and men searching the place where the sacrifice of the Gods took place, saw the victim lying without entrails. Then they exclaimed, "The victim is just so much as the omentum". Thus importance of the omentum is maintained (AB II.13). The use of this offering according to ŚB III.8.2.29 is as follows - "Now as to why the omentum is offered. For whatever deity the victim is seized by him that same deity he pleases by means of the sacrificial essence (medha). Thus pleased with that sacrificial essence (medha) it waits patiently for the other sacrificial dishes being

cooked". Thus the offering of omentum is a small quantity of food given to the deities so that they may wait for the further food which is under preparation.

Now let us turn to the significance of the omentum offering. AB II.14 connects this offering with generation and says, "The omentum is seed. Seed disappears, as it were; the omentum also disappears as it were. Seed is white; the omentum is white. Seed is incorporeal; the omentum is incorporeal ...". Further we know how the generation takes place. The omentum is offered in five layers. "The man is also fivefold and disposed in five parts : hair, skin, flesh bone, marrow. Having made ready the sacrifice in the same extent as is man, he offers in Agni as the birth-place of Gods. He having come into being from Agni as the birth place of Gods, from the libation with a body of gold, goes aloft to the world of heaven". Not only the sacrificer is regenerated due to the omentum-offering in the animal-sacrifice and obtainment of heaven is possible for him, he is also told to obtain immortality. "The libation of omentum is a libation of ambrosia (amṛta). The libation of butter is a libation of ambrosia. The libation of soma is a libation of ambrosia. These are the incorporeal libations; with these incorporeal libation the sacrificer conquers immortality". (AB II.14). Thus the omentum-offering serves to regenerate the sacrificer, helps to obtain heaven for him and confers immortality upon

him. The importance of this significance of the offering of the omentum will be properly understood when we shall see the identification of the victim and the sacrificer and that the victim is also in some another context said to be generated, goes to Gods and obtains immortality when it is killed. This will be seen afterwards.

Establishment and elevation of the animal-sacrifice :

In the Brāhmaṇa-texts themselves the problem of the nature and status of the Paśubandha was felt. Thus it is asked by the Brahmvādins, "Is the animal-sacrifice an iṣṭi or a great (mahā-)sacrifice ?" (ŚB XI.7.2.2), and it seems that the authors of the Brāhmaṇa-texts had to give to the animal-sacrifice a separate place in the form of the Paśubandha and in the form of animal-sacrifice included in the soma-sacrifice. In both the ways they have established and elevated it.

The animal-sacrifice was in the first stage as G. van der Leeuw has observed, a sacrifice of the sacrificer himself, of a human being and then successively of other animals and finally of the sacrificial cake which represents the animal (see further)². The animal-sacrifice was duly adopted and

2 cf. G. van der Leeuw, REM, p. 355.

established in the Śrauta-ritual and was elevated. The fact that it was admitted in the soma-sacrifice itself is a kind of elevation as is often done by the Brāhmaṇa-texts. Secondly the victim is connected with the soma in the following manner. "The victim, obviously is the soma (soma evaiṣa pratyakṣam yat paśuh). For if it were not offered it would be as it were a water-drinking. By means of it (the victim) the (soma) pressings are made firm. In that they proceed with the omentum, thereby the morning pressing is made firm. In that they cook, in that they proceed with the cake at the animal-sacrifice, thereby the midday pressing is made firm. In that they proceed with the victim at the third pressing, thereby the third pressing is made firm". (KB XII.6). TB I 4.7.6 identifies the victims with the king soma (paśavah soma rājā); cp. also ŚB XII.7.2.2 paśavo hi soma iti. The Paśubandha which is a distinct non-soma-sacrificial sacrifice can also have mystical connection with the soma if at the time of its performance the sacrificial post ~~is~~ made of palāśa wood is used (ŚB XI.7.2.8). Further the prayājas of it are said to be identical with the morning pressing of the soma sacrifice, the anuyājas with the third pressing and the cake with the midday pressing (ŚB XI.7.2.3). Thus the Paśubandha is mystically a soma-sacrifice. The symbolic avabhṛtha (sacrificial bath) which is a characteristic of a soma-sacrifice and is made symbolically in the Paśubandha,

is also for the sake of showing the connection of the Paśubandha with the soma-sacrifice and elevating it (ŚB XI.7.2.6-7).

The victim and the deity :

The victim is sometimes connected with the deity to which it is offered.³ Efforts are made to maintain similarity between the God and the animal in colour etc.⁴ Thus the seventeen victims which are to be slaughtered for Prajāpati in the Vājapeya sacrifice should be horn-less (tūpara), dark-gray (śyāma) and uncastrated males (muṣkara). These characteristics of the victims as well as the number seventeen have a direct relation with Prajāpati to whom they are offered (TB I.3.4.3-4; ŚB V.1.3.7ff). In the Sautrāmaṇī there is a reddish-white he-goat as a victim for Āsvins. The reason given for this prescription is that Āsvins are also reddish-white (ŚB V.5.4.1). Here also similarity is expected. The victim for Agni and Soma in the Agniṣṭoma is to be of two

3 For the idea of God himself as the offering material see e.g. Meyer, Trilogie, III. 249; see also Keith, RPV, p.274.

4 cf. Hillebrandt, Rituallitteratur, p.121, (Rajendra-lakṣ Mitra, JASB, Vol. 41, p. 178 referred to by Hillebrandt); Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p. 357.

colours; for it is to be offered to two deities (AB II.3). Here a numerical similarity is expected.

Though the Brāhmaṇa-texts do not mention directly, here it is indirectly implied that there is an identity of the victim and the deity. There is also another identity and that is of the victim and the sacrificer and we shall now see it.

Puruṣa as the victim (paśu) :

The Brāhmaṇa-texts explicitly mention not only that man is a victim (puruṣaḥ paśuḥ JB II.42) but they also mention that man is the first victim (ŚB VI.2.1.18 - puruṣo hi prathamah paśūnām). ŚB VII.5.2.6 has the sentence with the following explanation - "Prajāpati created the animals from his vital-airs (prāṇas); a man from his mind, a horse from his eye, a cow from his breath, a sheep from his ear, a goat from his voice The mind is the first of the vital airs; and inasmuch as he fashioned man from his mind from his mind, they say that he is the first of the victims and the strongest one (vīryavattama). For the puruṣa as the strongest victim see also AB IV.3.

Sacrificer as the sacrificial victim -

The idea of sacrificer as the sacrificial victim is

involved in the animal-sacrifice.⁵ AB II.11 gives the identification of sacrificer and the victim. "The sacrificial victim is in essence the sacrificer (yajamāno vā eṣa nidānena yat paśuh)". The animal-sacrifice then seems to be a substitute of the self-sacrifice.⁶ The sacrifice is often conceived as a redemption (niṣkraya)⁷ of oneself and this theory is connected with the animal sacrifice as we are now going to see this.

Redemption (niṣkraya) theory :

AB II.3 says, "One who consecrates himself, offers himself to all the deities. All deities are Agni. All the deities are soma. In that he offers a victim to Agni and Soma, verily thus the sacrificer redeems himself from all the deities". Quite analogous is KB X.3, "He who is consecrated enters the jaws of Agni and Soma. In that on fast day he offers a victim to Agni and Soma this is the

5 Cf: G. van der Leeuw, REM p. 355; Heesterman Consecration, p. 161.

6 G. van der Leeuw, REM, p.355; Keith, RPV, p. 273f.

7 For the niṣkraya theory see Weber, Indische Streifen I, p. 72 (ZDMG, Vol.18 (1864), p.275), Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brāhmanas, p.130ff. Schwab, Das altindische Thieropfer, p.XIX. Hubert, Mauss, "Sacri" p.134; Keith VBYT, p.CVI.

self-redemption (ātmaniskrayana)"; cf. also ŚB III.3.4.21: "Offering-material (havis) is he himself who is consecrated. They (Agni and Soma) seize him in the jaws and by means of the victim he redeems himself". In the context of the Paśubandha which is an independent animal-sacrifice also we read : "When he performs an animal-offering he thereby redeems himself" (ŚB XI.7.1.3).

The victim is not only useful for redeeming oneself, it is also useful for prolonging the life of the sacrificer and even to have "immortality (amṛtatva)". Thus ŚB XI.7.1. 2-3 in connection with the Paśubandha it is said, "Beneficial to life (āyusya) indeed is that redemption of his own self. For when he is offering, the sacrificer's fires long for flesh; they set their minds on the sacrificer and harbour designs on him. In other fires, people indeed cook any kind of meat but these (sacrificial fires) have no desires for any other flesh but for this (sacrificial animal) and for him (i.e. the sacrificer) to whom they belong. Now when he performs the animal-sacrifice he thereby redeems himself ... This flesh is the best kind of food. Let not an year pass by for him without this sacrifice. For the year means life; it is thus immortal life he thereby confers upon himself".

Application of the āprīverses is also significant from the niṣkraya point of view. The word āprī is derived sometimes

from the root pri with the prefix ā or from pyai with ā. Thus KB X.3 "With the whole mind, he (the sacrificer) gathers together the sacrifice. His self becomes empty as it were. The hotṛ fills it up for him (the sacrificer) with these verses. In that he fills it up (āprīṇāti), therefore, They are called āprīs". ŚB III.8.1.2 has the same to say, but it uses the verb āpyāyati and the etymology slightly differs. There is, however, no difference in the significance of the āprīs. It is further (ŚB III.8.1.13) said that the prayājas at the time of which the āprī-verses are used are eleven. There are ten vital airs in a man and the self (ātman) is the eleventh, upon whom these vital airs^{are} based. This much is the man and he is filled up completely. (For a somewhat different but detailed account of the "filling" see AB II.4).

The redemption theory and the identification of the sacrificer and the victim can be seen in the problem of eating of the flesh of the victim also. There was a controversy among the ritualists in connection with whether to eat the flesh of the victim or not. AB II.3 mentions the opinion of those according to whom the flesh of the victim offered to Agni and Soma is not to be eaten. The reason given by them is "Of a man he eats who eats of the victim for Agni and Soma; for thereby the sacrificer redeems himself". This view is, however, to be rejected. The victim for Agni and Soma is an

oblation connected with the slaying of Vṛtra (vātraghna). By means of Agni and Soma Indra killed Vṛtra. They said to him "By means of us you killed Vṛtra. Let us choose a boon from you". They chose the victim as the boon. It is regularly offered to these two for it is chosen as a boon. Therefore, one should eat of the victim and should be fain to take it. KB X.3 gives the same opinion of others with the same reasoning about not eating the animal; the answer is given to this view by showing the difficulty if this view is accepted. "Every oblation is buying off of oneself; he would not eat of any oblation, if he were not willing to eat because it is a buying off of oneself. Therefore, at will one should eat". According to ŚB III.8.3.11 some part belonging to the head only of the victim is not to be eaten and the reasoning given for maintaining this view is as follows - When the Gods, at first, seized an animal, Tvaṣṭṛ first spat upon its head, thinking "Surely, thus they will not touch it". For animals belong to Tvaṣṭṛ. That (spittle) became the brain in the head and marrow in the neckbone Let him, therefore, not eat that since it was spitten by Tvaṣṭṛ. Thus the head of the victim is not to be eaten; but there is no objection of the ŚB for eating other parts of the animal.

The above discussion will lead us to conclude that the sacrificer was conceived as the first victim and then he was substituted by animals; but still the conscience that the

animal is the sacrificer himself was not totally removed and, therefore, there were some thinkers according to whom the flesh of the victim was not to be eaten. Ultimately, however, concession seems to have been given for eating the flesh of the victim.

Significance of the sacrificial cake (Puroḍāśa) :

We have above referred to that man as the first sacrificial animal was substituted by animals. It seems that there was some evolution in the use of these animals also which ended in offering the puroḍāśa. This evolution is mentioned in a story given by the Brāhmaṇa-texts. Thus AB II.8 tells us.— The Gods first slew the man (puruṣa) as the victim. But when he had been slain, the sacrificial essence in him went to the horse. Theⁿ from the horse it similarly went to the ox; then from it to the sheep; then from it to the goat. It remained in the goat for a very long time. Then it entered into the earth and through the earth it entered into the ~~earth and through the earth it entered into~~ the rice of which the sacrificial cake is made. Thus the sacrificial cake (puroḍāśa) contains the sacrificial essence (medha). There is then the explanation of the use of puroḍāśa in the animal-sacrifice. "They offer a cake in the animal-sacrifice thinking 'let our sacrifice be with the sacrificial essence; let our sacrifice be with a victim whole'". ŚB I.2.3.6.9 has the

same story⁸ of the evolution of the offering material.

KB X.5 says that the sacrificial cake is the sacrificial essence of the victims (medho vā eṣa paśūnām yat puroḍāśaḥ; cp. also AB II.9; 11; ŚB III.8.3.1). ŚB I.2.3.5 identifies the victim with the sacrificial cake by saying, "It is an animal-sacrifice that this sacrificial cake is offered". The details of the similarity between the victim and the cake are supplied by ŚB I.2.3.8: When the cake still consists of flour it is the hair; when water is poured on it, it becomes skin. What water is mixed, it becomes flesh When it is baked, it becomes bone... . When butter is sprinkled it becomes marrow ... ". AB II.9 gives the details of the similarity between the sacrificial cake and the animal differently. "The chaff (kiṃśārūṇi) of it is the hairs, the husks (tuṣāḥ) the skin, the polishing (phalīkaraṇāḥ) the blood, the pounded grains (piṣṭa) and fragments (kiknasāra) the flesh. Whatever the substantial, the bone". At the time of preparation of the sacrificial cake also it is shown to be a victim. Thus it is said to the sacrificial cake. "Have the skin (tvacam grbñiṣva)". Water is sprinkled upon the cake and then the flesh becomes covered as it were with the skin (TB

8 For the story cf. Weber, Indische Studien, IX.246; F. Max Müller, HASL, p.420. Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice p. 136; Keith, RPV, p.459.

III.2.8.4; see also 5). Then the remark - "Puroḍāśa is the image of the victim" (TB III.2.8.8) is very aptly made.

Thus it will be seen that the Puroḍāśa (sacrificial cake) is the substitute of the animal itself.⁹ It is offered in the animal-sacrifice after the offerings of the animal are made. The Puroḍāśa has a great scope in the haviryajñas or iṣṭis which except the Paśubandha in them are performed by means of the cake and without any animal. The sacrificial cake in the animal sacrifice is an intermediate stage between the animal-sacrifice and the haviryajñas or iṣṭis (like Darśa and Pūrṇamāsa) in which no animal is offered. The puroḍāśa there substitutes the animal. The iṣṭis represent the last stage of the evolution of the animal-sacrifices and they also represent the well-developed sophisticated ritualism including no killing (himsā).

Another significance of the Puroḍāśa is mentioned at the AB II.11. The victim is not offered in the fire completely. Much of it such as hair, skin, blood, dewclaws (kuṣṭikāḥ), hooves (śaphāḥ), the two horns, the raw flesh falls away.

9 For puroḍāśa as the substitute of the animal cf. Hubert, Mauss, "Sacr", p.40; G. van der Leeuw, REM, p.355; K. Rönnow MO, 23 (1929), p. 133.

This is made up by the cake. Thus the puroḍāśa has a compensatory nature, but this compensation is also made in connection with the victim and this shows that here also the puroḍāśa is supposed to be as much as the victim.

Attitude towards the animal-killing :

While reading the explanations of the various acts given in the Brāhmaṇa-texts we notice that these texts are trying to sophisticate euphemistically the "killing" element involved in the animal-sacrifice. Though eating of the flesh was common in the Brāhmaṇa-period, the actual process of killing the animal was rather troublesome to some of the sensitive minds among the ritualists. The first signs of civilized man and sophisticated attitude are seen in the case of the Puruṣamedha where the puruṣa or the man is directly used as an animal but not killed. We are told in connection with the Puruṣamedha that those Puruṣas who are bound to the sacrificial post are to be set free after some ritual actions have been finished. While giving the etymology of the word Puruṣamedha it is said (ŚB XIII.6.2.1) "Inasmuch as at this (sacrifice) puruṣas, worthy of sacrificing are killed, it is called Puruṣamedha (yad asmin medhyān puruṣān ālabhate tasmādeva puruṣamedhaḥ)" and thus killing of the man is implied in the etymology of the word Puruṣamedha. But further it is said - when Nārāyaṇa was sacrificing, at the time of

the slaughtering of the puruṣas, a voice said to him "Puruṣa, do not consummate these human victims; if thou wert to consummate them, man would eat man". Then the Puruṣa set free the human victims (ŚB XIII.6.2.12-13). TB III.9.8.3 says, "After the fire is carried round, the man and the savage animals are set free for the sake of ahimsā".

Thus the doctrine of ahimsā which became prominent in the later Hinduism as well as in the Buddhism and Jainism has its scope even in the explanations of the animal-sacrifice given by the Brāhmaṇa-texts. In the sophisticated and euphemistic expressions of himsā the latent forces of ahimsā are not too difficult to grasp.

a) "cruelty" felt :

It is very interesting, then to see how the Brāhmaṇa-texts indulge themselves in the euphemistic sophistication of the himsā or "killing" element in the animal-sacrifice. The Brāhmaṇa-texts reflect the sense of "cruelty" in the animal-killing. The significance of sprinkling with water upon the animal which is killed is to pacify that whatever "cruel (krūra)" has been done (ŚB III.8.2.8ff). The significance of washing hands after the vapāhoma is also similarly told. "They do something 'cruel' when they kill or cut the animal. The water is a means of pacifying. By means of it they pacify" (ŚB III.8.2.30).

b) no hiṃsā in the animal sacrifice :

At the time of carrying the victim, according to the opinion of the Brahmvādins, the victim must not be held on by the sacrificer "For they lead it unto death". But the Brāhmaṇa-text refutes this objection by saying, "Let him (the sacrificer) nevertheless hold on to it. For they do not lead the victim to the death but to the sacrifice (ŚB III.8.1.10). Thus here we find an obvious attempt to sophisticate euphemistically the killing, death, etc. by putting the fact in somewhat different manner. Here also we find that the Brāhmaṇa-texts are trying to show that there is no killing, no "hiṃsā", no death; there is merely "sacrifice". Here we get the origin of the later doctrine regarding the animal-sacrifice that the killing in the sacrifice is not killing at all (cf. Manusmṛti V. 39 yajñārtham paśavaḥ sṛṣṭāḥ syavameva svayambhuva. Yajñasya bhūtyai sarvasya tasmād yajñe vadho'vadhah see Vasisthasmṛti IV, 7),

c) not to see the animal being killed :

Further we see that according to ŚB III.8.1.15 even looking at the animal being killed was also to be avoided. At the time when the animal is being killed, the priests step back (to the altar) and sit down turning towards the āhavanīya-fire, "Lest they should be eyewitnesses to its being killed

(nedasya samjñāpyamānasya adhyakṣā asāma)". Thus even looking towards the animal being killed is avoided and this shows the hesitating attitude towards the himsā in the sacrifice.

d) animal mystically protected :

From this point of view it is interesting to see how (even though the animal is ultimately to be killed) efforts are made for mystical "protection" of the animal. The adhvaryu takes the chip of the sacrificial post (yūpa) and having anointed the chip and the slaughtering knife at the top (with ghee) he touches the forehead of the victim with them. At that time he utters the words, "Anointed with ghee protect ye the animals" (VS VI.11). For the chip of the post is thunderbolt; the knife is thunderbolt; and ghee is thunderbolt. These three together he makes a protector of the victim; lest the evil spirits should injure the victim (ŚB III.8.1.5). Similarly the paryagnikaraṇa (carrying fire around) is for the protection, safety of the animal. "The reason why he (agnīdh) carries the fire around is that the encircles it (the victim) by means of the fire with an unbroken fence lest the evil spirits should seize upon it. Agni is the repeller of the Rakṣas" (ŚB III.8.1.6; cp. KB. X.3). The same reasoning is for the agnīdh's walking in front of the animal with a fire-brand while the animal is

being led (ŚB III.8.1.9). At the time of cutting the various parts of the animal, the adhvaryu puts a stalk of grass on it and says, "O plant protect (oṣadhe trāyasva)" (VS VI.15). For the knife is a thunderbolt, and thus that thunderbolt, the knife does not injure the victim. He then applies the edge of the knife to it (the plant) and cuts with "Injure not o blade ! (svadhite mainam himsīh). For the knife is a thunderbolt and thus the knife, the thunderbolt does not injure it (ŚB III.8.2.12). Thus here we find efforts for protecting mystically the animal and these efforts are for the sake of euphemistic sophistication of the animal-killing.

e) blood to the evil beings :

In the animal-sacrifice the blood of the animal is given to the evil beings.¹⁰ Thus ŚB III.8.2.14-15 it is said

10 Schwab, Das altindische Thieropfer, p. 132; Oldenberg Religion des Veda, p. 363; Hillebrandt, Rituallitteratur, p. 173, 176 etc.; Keith, VBYT, p. CVI mentions that this practice of assigning blood to the evil spirits is also found in the Greek ritual and refers to Farnell, Greece and Babylon, p.246; cf. also Meyer, Trilogie, III. 237. For blood as taboo see Frazer, Golden Bough. p.227f.

"Where he skins (the victim) and whence the blood spirts out there he smears it (the bottom part with blood) on both ends with the words (VS VI.16) 'Thou art the share of evil beings!' For that blood indeed is the share of evil beings. Then having thrown it away (on the utkara), he treads on it with "Herewith I tread down the evil being; herewith I drive away the evil being; Herewith I consign the evil being to the nethermost darkness!" (VS VI.16)". Thus here also in giving the share, viz., blood to the evil beings protection (from those evil beings) of the animal, is intended. Now it is well-known that the idea of protection, removing away the evil spirits etc. is very closely connected with the idea of generation.¹¹ The significance of yūpa is also protection, removing away the evils spirits etc. (cf. KB X.I., ŚB XIII.6.1.4; III.7.1.2; etc.) as well as generation (cf. the identification of yūpa and vajra and the use of yūpa in the Vājapeya). In the process of euphemistic sophistication of the "killing" element in the animal-sacrifice, the Brāhmaṇa-texts are going to maintain that the animal is not "killed" at all; it is generated; life is put in it etc. This we shall see afterwards; before it let us see how in the process of euphemistic sophistication the Brāhmaṇa-texts try to change the words and express the idea of killing in an euphemistic manner.

11 cf: Meyer, Trilogie, I.136.

f) euphemism in the use of the words :

Thus the Brāhmaṇa-texts avoid the use of the direct expression of "killing" and use some other words. The words like "Slay ! kill ! (jahi māraya)" are not to be used. "For it is a human manner". The words to be used are "quiet him! He has gone near ! (saṁjñapaya anvagan)". For that is after the manner of the Gods. For when it is said, "It has gone near" then the animal goes near to the Gods. (ŚB III.8.1.15)¹² Thus the change of word is notable for the euphemism in it. Again the animal is not "killed"; it is "quieted", it is not "dead"; it has "gone to the gods".

g) process of killing somewhat different :

The process of actual killing is also not without euphemistic sophistication. "They do not slay it on the frontal bone (kūṭa); for that is a human practice; nor behind the ear; for that is after the manner of fathers. They either choke it by merely keeping its mouth closed¹³ or they make a noose" (ŚB III.8.1.15). Thus the way of killing is not the normal or profane one. It is a sacred one. The way prescribed would not allow any crying or noise of the

12 cf: Meyer, Trilogie, III. 120, n.1.

13 cf: Meyer, Trilogie, III. 237, n.1.

victim for its mouth is closed. The reason behind this may be that the crying would perhaps disturb the sensitive minds the priests- who are sitting with the heads turned away and are not seeing the animal being killed. Because of choking, the possibility of hearing the noise of the animal is also removed to some extent and we see here also a kind euphemistic sophistication in the attitude towards the animal-killing.

h) animal is made sacrificially pure (medhya) :

In the animal-sacrifice efforts are made for the sake of sacrificial purification of the animal, i.e., making it medhya. AB II.6 identifies the victim with the medha (sacrificial essence) itself. But putting medha is so important that ŚB III.8.4.5 gives a general rule - "He alone may slay an animal who can supply it with the sacrificial essence (sa ha tveva paśum ālabheta ya enam medham āpnuyāt)". The significance of sprinkling water upon the victim is making it medhya (sacrificially pure)(ŚB III.7.4.4). By connecting the sacrificial essence (medha) purification is made and the animal becomes fit for the sacrificial sacred plane where it is going to be killed and mystically revived.

i) life is given to the animal :

As we have indicated above the next stage of the sophistication process of the "killing" element in the

animal-sacrifice is that sometimes we find that life is put in a mystical manner in the animal according to the Brāhmaṇa-texts. While the animal is being killed some oblations are made with the words - "Prāṇāya svāhā ! apāṇāya svāhā ! vyāṇāya svāhā !" (VS XIII.18). Explaining this the Brāhmaṇa-text says, "When they quiet a victim they kill it. Whilst it is being quieted he (the adhvaryu) offers (three) oblations with prāṇāya svāhā ... ; he thereby lays the vital airs (prāṇān) into it and thus offering is made by him with this victim as a living one" (ŚB XIII.2.8.3). Similar significance of sprinkling water is given by ŚB III.8.2.7, viz., by means of sprinkling, prāṇās (vital airs) are put in the victim and it is revived (of course in the mystical manner). ŚB IV.2.5.16 says "When he kills the animal, he puts sap (rasa) in it".

j) animal becomes immortal :

Not only the killed animal is mystically conferred upon with life, it is also conferred upon with immortality. This is the significance of the use of golden pieces along with the omentum. "The reason why there is a golden piece on each side is this - when they offer the victim in the fire, they slay it. Gold is identical with the immortal life. Thereby it (the victim) gets firm foundation in the immortal life; so it rises from hence and so it lives" (ŚB III.8.3.26).

In this manner we find that the Brāhmaṇa-texts are interested in euphemistically sophisticating the "killing" element and this shows that the thoughts of ahimsā are very remotely appearing in the attitude towards the animal-sacrifice. We have mentioned above how the sacrificer and the animal which represents the sacrificer are ultimately identical. Therefore, when it is said that life is put in the animal or it has gone to the Gods or it has obtained immortality, it is indirectly connected with the sacrificer's obtainment of life, heaven and immortality.

Conclusion :

i) The animal-sacrifice has been connected with the soma-sacrifice and is elevated to some extent.

ii) The animal-sacrifice is a substitute of the self-sacrifice and the offering of the sacrificial cake (puroḍāśa) is a representative of the animal-sacrifice itself and forms an important stage between the animal-sacrifices and the haviryajñas which contain no himsā.

iii) Even in the animal sacrifice remote traces of ahimsā are seen when we find the sophistication and euphemism of the Brāhmaṇa-texts. The victim gets life, heaven and immortality and the sacrificer also gets the same results.

(G) Dakṣiṇās.Introduction -

The dakṣiṇās are distributed in a soma sacrifice at the time of midday pressing when the udgātṛs sing the midday pavamāna (ŚB IV.3.3.5) JB II.130 quotes "The morning pressing is not the right time, nor the third pressing is the right time. The dakṣiṇās should be given at the time of the midday pressing. That is the right time; that is (proper) place (atīrtham vai prataḥsavanam atīrtham tr̥tīyasavanam. mādhyandine eva savane dadyāt. tad eva tirtham tad āyatanam)."

ŚB IV 3.3.5 gives the reasoning for the dakṣiṇās being distributed at the midday pressing, "Indra hurled the thunderbolt at Vṛtra; and having smitten Vṛtra, the wicked, and safety and peace being secured, he led forth the dakṣiṇās." In Indra's practice there is the explanation of the dakṣiṇās being distributed at the midday pressing.

Dakṣiṇā - nature.

The word dakṣiṇā is very difficult to translate in a western language¹ because it has many aspects. It is not

1 cf. Gonda, "The Etymologies in the ancient Indian Brahmanas" Lingua, 5(1955), p.75. See also the same, Religionen Indiens, I.p.43; Heesterman, "Reflexions on the significance of dakṣiṇās" IJ, 3(1959), p.241.

a mere salary or remuneration. The word is translated as "fee",² "donation, gift, sacrificial fee,"³ "Priester-lohn",⁴ "Lohn",⁵ "La salaire donnée aux pretres par le sacrifiant."⁶ etc. Hillebrandt says "Die Priester Erhalten als Lohn die Dakṣiṇās ..."⁷ Ofcourse we need not hide that in the Brāhmaṇa-texts sometimes dakṣiṇā is shown to be similar to salary or remuneration. See for example ŚB IV.3.4.5. "It is to the Officiating priests, forsooth, that these dakṣiṇās belong, for they prepare him another self - to wit this sacrifice consisting of R̥c and Yajus and Sāman and oblations - that becomes his self in yonder world. Thinking that 'it is they that have generated me' he should give the dakṣiṇās to the officiating priests and not to non-officiating," Here clearly dakṣiṇā is shown to be like remuneration which is given to those who have worked and not to those who have not. The idea of remuneration can also be seen in the following "They say : seeing that the dakṣiṇās are brought for the adhvaryu (by the sacrificer) thinking '

2 Keith, RBT, p.286.

3 Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p.466.

4 Winternitz, GIL, I, p.99 etc.

5 Böhtlingk, Roth, Sanskrit wörterbuch, III . 485.

6 Silburn, Instant et cause, p.89.

7 Hillebrandt, Rituallitteratur, p.97

he has drawn the cups for me, he has acted for me, he has offered the libations for me, for the udgātṛ (thinking)' he has sung for me ' For the hotṛ thinking ' he has said the invitatory verses for me, he has recited (the litanies) for me, he has said the offering verses for me ' "(AB V.34; JUB III.4.3.4, GB I.3.4) On this basis it is asked why dakṣiṇās are given to the brahman; For he has done nothing. The answer is further given that he has also done his work viz. being a "physician" of the sacrifice (see AB V.34 etc.) Thus, it will be clearly seen how sometimes dakṣiṇā has a nature of remuneration or salary etc.

It is, however, important that in the brahmanic speculizations the dakṣiṇās do not remain as a mere remuneration etc. The Brāhmaṇa-texts give, as usual a divine and high back-ground to the dakṣiṇās.

In the sacrificial performance, the sacrificer is said to have killed the sacrifice as it were. To wit, when they press the soma, they kill it and in quieting and immolating the victim they kill it. Again when they prepare the sacrificial cake they pound the grains with mortar and pestle. The sacrifice thus killed looses its vigour. The Gods at such occasion invigorated (adakṣayan)

the sacrifice by means of dakṣiṇās. Whatever fails in the sacrifice, when slain, that is invigorated by means of dakṣiṇās and it then becomes successful, strong, complete (see ŚB II.2.2.1f; IV.3.4.1f) Here, by giving the etymology of the word dakṣiṇā one of its significances is told viz. to invigorate (dakṣ) the sacrifice and thereby to make it successful, complete etc. (for this kind of etymology see also KB IV.1; ŚadB II.10.14; Nirukta, I.7)⁸ (see also for another kind of etymological explanation TB III.11.8.6-8).

The dakṣiṇās are looked upon as "offerings". It is stated that there are two kinds of Gods. The Gods themselves are Gods. Those priests who are well-versed in the vedic lore are the human Gods. In the sacrifice, offerings (āhutis) are given to the Gods. In a similar manner

8 On the etymology of the dakṣiṇā see Gonda, "The etymologies in the ancient Indian Brāhmaṇas" Lingua, 5, p.75; Minard, Trois énigmes, I, p.183. For another effort see Silburn, Renou "La notion de Brahman" JA, 1949, p.43, n.1 where the word dakṣiṇā is understood in the sense of 'prix de la capacité (dans les joutes rituelles) du dakṣa' and thus in a different way the word is connected with the dakṣa.

the dakṣiṇās are the offerings given to the human Gods - i.e. to the priests (ŚB II.2.2.6; VI.3.4.; ŚadB I.128; GB II 1.6).

Significances of the Dakṣiṇas -

The significances of the dakṣiṇās are stated variously. The sacrifice is conceived as a chariot and the dakṣiṇās are described as the internal fastenings of the sacrifice (Ślesma vā etadyajñasya yaddakṣiṇāḥ). "A chariot without fastenings is not able to convey. Even as by a (chariot) provided with fastenings one is sure to attain the reaching of a desired object, so he attains through this (sacrifice) provided with dakṣiṇās which he desires." (TMB XVI.1.13).⁹ Further it is said that the dakṣiṇās are the ornaments of the sacrifice. In that he performs a sacrifice provided with dakṣiṇas, he brings beauty into it (TMB XVI.1.14). The dakṣiṇas, he brings beauty into it (TMB XVI.1.14). The dakṣiṇās (the offerings), please the human Gods i.e. priests. The offerings made in the fire please the Gods. Both these Gods when pleased lead the sacrificer to the heaven. The sacrifice first goes to the heaven. Behind it goes the dakṣiṇā and holding on to the dakṣiṇā follows the sacrificer (ŚB IV.3.4.6 cp. I.9.3.1). The dakṣiṇās are

9 Cf. Silburn, Instant et cause, p.90

also described to have a healing power. Thus ŚB XII. 7.1.14, it is said that the dakṣiṇās are the medicine (bheṣajam dakṣiṇāḥ). GB II. 3.17 describes the dakṣiṇās as making firm the bridge in the form of sacrifice - the bridge that leads to the heaven. GB II.2.5 we read that if any mantra, practice or the dakṣiṇās are not properly worked upon then a "hole" is created in the sacrifice. The sacrifice is like a ship. This ship is likely to be drowned due to that hole. Here it is to be marked how it is dangerous to have any mistake in case of dakṣiṇās etc. JB II.116 says "The sacrifices without dakṣiṇās will be cut down. (vicchetsyante vā adakṣiṇā yajñāḥ). The Āptyas thrust the sin upon those who do not give dakṣiṇās (ŚB I.2.3.4-5). As a carriage without a bullock will be useless, in the same manner the sacrifice without dakṣiṇā will get harmed (AB VI.35). It will be seen thus how giving dakṣiṇās is important and how there is some positive harm if they are not given.

Rules, etc. about the Dakṣiṇās -

Various rules etc. regarding the dakṣiṇā are mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas. The most important rule is that no offering should be without dakṣiṇā (nādakṣiṇam haviṣ syād..)(ŚB I.2.3.4; II.4.3.14; IV.5.1.16; XI.1.3.7). AB VI.35 says "At the sacrifice dakṣiṇā should be given

even if but a small one (tasmādāhur dātavyaiva yajñe dakṣiṇā bhavatyalpikāpi). A priest is advised not to accept the priesthood where less than one hundred dakṣiṇās are given (ŚB IV.3.4.3) and it is strictly prescribed that there should be one hundred dakṣiṇās at a soma-sacrifice (ŚB IV 3.4.4). Another rule is that dakṣiṇās are to be given to those who have actually worked as priests and not to those who have not. (ŚB IV.3.4.5). GB II. 3.18 however mentions that dakṣiṇās are to be distributed also to those persons other than the officiating priests e.g. one who begs for the dakṣiṇā, to him it is given.

The priests are, however, not to bargain about the dakṣiṇās. The priests who bargain, do not get any place in the heaven (ŚB IX 5.2.16) Sometimes, of-course, there were some bad priests creating trouble. Thus AB III.46 describes - "These things are performed at the sacrifice, eating, swallowing and vomitting. What is eaten is when he makes as priest one that expects 'May he give to me, or may he choose me.' That is like something eaten; that does not profit the sacrificer. Again what is swallowed is when fearing he chooses a priest, 'Let him not either oppress me, nor let him make confusion in the sacrifice for me.' That is, like something swallowed. That does not profit the sacrificer. Again what is vomited is when he

chooses as priest one who is spoken ill of. Just as here men are disgusted by what is vomited, so therefore the Gods. That is like something vomited. That does not profit the sacrificer. He should not desire these three ..." Here, it will be seen how some priests - who were of desirous nature were supposed to be troublesome. They were of-course to be avoided.

Further, there is a rule that one should not accept a dakṣiṇā laid aside. If it is accepted he should give it to his rival, when one refuses some dakṣiṇā and another accepts it that becomes a lioness. Therefore, it should be given to the rival so that the rival will suffer. (AB VI.35; cp. ŚB III.5.1.25; GB II.3.18). Dakṣiṇā is identified with yaśas (fame, glory etc.) and it is prescribed that a priest should not give the dakṣiṇā obtained by him to any one other. Then, however, a concession is given. One may give the things obtained, on the morrow or a day after (ŚB ΔIV.1.1.32). Another rule is that dakṣiṇā is to be given first to a priest belonging to Atri family (GB I.2.17). This rule is connected with the ancient myth viz. Atri removed the darkness with which the sun was covered; and as a reward for this act he got the boon that the dakṣiṇā should be given first to the priest belonging to Atri's family. TB I.4.3.3 gives the rule according to which a dakṣiṇā which is given to a priest should be first

"seen" by the priest. No dakṣiṇā which is "unseen" is given (na hyadr̥ṣṭā dakṣiṇā dīyate). Therefore, the milk of the milch-cow which is given as a dakṣiṇā is to be shown to the priest. The significance of this rule seems to be that there should not be any kind of deceit in giving the dakṣiṇās. Whichever is to be given is given just as it is prescribed. The priest should not get anything which is not meant to be given at that particular rite.

If we take into consideration all these rules we can observe that the Brāhmaṇa-texts were trying to have balance between theory and practice. The rules are so prescribed that there should not be any quarrel, competition or ill-will which, otherwise, is likely to be there.

Kinds of dakṣiṇās -

There are many kinds of dakṣiṇās. The dakṣiṇās differ in quality as well as quantity. ŚB IV 3.4.7 enumerates four principal kinds of dakṣiṇās - Viz. Gold, Cow, Cloth and Horse (cp. also ŚB IV.3.4.24ff)¹⁰ Of-course, there are

10 For similar kinds of dakṣiṇās mentioned in the Avesta-literature see Lommel, "Zarathustra's Priesterlohn," in Studia Indologica, Festschrift für W. Kirfel, p.189

many other dakṣiṇās; but only chief dakṣiṇās are mentioned here. ŚB II.2.3.28 mentions the dakṣiṇā for the establishment of fire as gold. That is because gold is the seed of fire. Again the dakṣiṇā at the cake offering to Agni in Pāñcabīlacaru offerings is gold (ŚB V.5.1.8). The gold to be given is often told to be of one hundred grains (e.g. ŚB AIII.2.2.2; AIII.4.1.6; AIII.4.2.6 etc.) The reasoning behind this is that a man has his life a hundred years long and by giving such a dakṣiṇā one attains the full length of life.

The cows were also an important dakṣiṇā (see e.g. ŚB AII. 9.2.11; AIV.3.1.33ff etc.) The word dakṣiṇā itself is used at times in the sense of cow (see e.g. ŚB VI.5.10.7).¹¹ Many times cows are to be given along with calves (e.g. ŚB. V.3.2.2. etc.). Sometimes a calf alone forms the dakṣiṇā as at the Āgrayana offering where a first born calf is given (ŚB II.4.3.13). Ox is also given to the priests sometimes. Thus as an optional dakṣiṇā of the "establishment of fires" an ox may be given (ŚB III.2.3.28; according to KB I.1 twelve cows and a horse are to be given). For the Vaiśvānara offering in the Rājasiya also an ox is to be given (ŚB V.2.5.17).

For the Pāñcavātiya oblation in the Rājya^{asū} a carriage with a pair of horses is given (ŚB V.2.4.9). Along with

11 Renou, Vocabulaire, p.73

them a side horse, a charioteer and warrior are also given. Human beings like warriors or queens and maidens were also used to be given as dakṣiṇās. Thus for example at the Aśvamedha four queens accompanied by maidens are offered (ŚB AIII.5.4.27)¹² Animals like hornless he-goats at the time of offering clotted whey to Mitrāvaruṇa in the Fire-building ceremony (ŚB IA.5.1.57) or a mare with a foal at the paśupuroḍāśa offering in the Sautrāmaṇi (ŚB AII.7.1.21) are also given.

Garments of various kinds are given to the priests. As the dakṣiṇā of the Traidhātavī udavasānīyā offering at the end of Rājasūya three garments are given to the adhvaryu (ŚB V.5.5.18). A hundred garments are given at the paṇṣṭīṣṭi in the Aśvamedha (ŚB AII.4.1.15).

There are some dakṣiṇās of very peculiar type. Thus for example a dappled cow with a calf is to be given in the Paśubandha of Rājasūya (ŚB V.5.2.9) or a castrated bull at the Sautrāmaṇi in the Rājasūya (ŚB V.5.4.35).

12 cf. Meyer, Trilogie, III, 248. Meyer understands here a connection with fertility. For the interpretation of these dakṣiṇās as an effort to establish a "marital bond" see Heesterman, IJ, 1959, p.256.

For the Darśapūrnamāsa nothing except the Anvāhārya mess of rice is the dakṣiṇā (ŚB I.2.3.5; GB II.1.5)¹³. Things like staff (ŚB AI.1.5.10), bows and arrows (ŚB AI. 1.5. 10); red turban (ŚB V.3.1.11), Claw shaped knife and diceboard with a horse-hair band (ŚB V.3.1.10) are also mentioned as dakṣiṇās.

Dakṣiṇās "Non-attractive" :

The dakṣiṇās are not always quite attractive.¹⁴ Let us see some examples.

a) dakṣiṇās of black colour -

Black colour is generally connected with something inauspicious, unwished, and avoidable (cf. MS II.5.6: tad vai pāpmano rūpam yat kṛṣṇam). The black coloured dakṣiṇās are connected with some kind of badness. At the beginning of the Rājasūya there is an offering to Nirṛti and Anumati who represent the inauspicious and auspicious kinds of earth (see e.g. ŚB V.2.3.3;4; TB I.6.1.1.4).¹⁵ The dakṣiṇā for the Nirṛti offering is a black cloth with black fring; for this is the form of Nirṛti and by its form one removes Nirṛti (Tb I.6.1.1-4).

~~13 cf. Gonda, Savayaṅkas, p. 21 ff.~~

14 Cp. my paper, "Non-attractive dakṣiṇās in the Śrauta Ritual." VIJ, VIII(1969) p.36 ff.

15 cf. Heesterman consecration, p.17, For Nirṛti which in general represents "désordre" or "une rupture du circuit organique" see Renou, "Védique Nirṛti" S.K.Chatterji Jubilee Volume, p.11 ff.

(b) barren cow -

A barren cow is also given at some occasions. For the offering of clotted curds (āmikṣā) to mitra and Varuṇa the dakṣiṇā is a barren cow; for such a cow belongs to Mitra and Varuṇa (ŚB V.5.1.11). The same is the dakṣiṇā for the dasapeya sacrifice in the Rajsūya to the priest named Maitrāvaruṇa (ŚB V.4.5.22 TB I.8.2.4; TMB XVIII.9.13). The purpose of this dakṣiṇā viz. a barren cow (vaśā) is that the sacrificer thereby can hope, "May she bring me to power (vaśā)" (TMB XVIII.9.13).¹⁶

(c) old things -

Some times old things are also to be given as dakṣiṇās. The dakṣiṇās of the Punarādheya (the re-establishment of the fires) are as follows : "a bad chariot reasewn with an old wrapper, renewed, a draft ox or gold" (KB I.5). At Pitṛmedha, old ox, old barley, an old arm chair with old head-kushion are given (ŚB XIII.8.4.10).

(d) dakṣiṇās of the Śyena-sacrifice -

The dakṣiṇās of the Śyena sacrifice are peculiarly non-attractive. Śyena is a sacrifice to be performed by one

16 Śāyana remarks that there is verbal similarity between what is given and the fruit of it (devavastuphalayor vaśasābdaśāmyam draṣṭavyam).

who wishes to practise black magic against one's enemy. Falcon (Śyena) is the swiftest of the birds. The sacrificer performing this sacrifice catches his enemy as the falcon catches other birds. The dakṣiṇās for this dreadful sacrifice are in keeping with the nature and purpose of the sacrifice. There are groups of cows; nine cows in each one. One group is of one-eyed (kāṇa) cows, the second of lame (khora) cows, the third of those with defective horns (kūṭa) the fourth of those with some defect in the tail (or without tail at all) (banda) (ŚadB III.8.23. These details are not given by the Brāhmaṇa. They are to be understood from the commentary and the Śrautasūtras)¹⁷ Similarly in the course of Ratnin offerings, in the house of the discarded wife a pap of black grains is offered to Mirṛti. The dakṣiṇā for this offering is a black, old (parimurnī) and diseased (paryārinī) cow (ŚB V.3.1.13).

(e) dakṣiṇās causing trouble to the receiver -

Some dakṣiṇās are not non-attractive by themselves, but their background makes them non-attractive. If the cow

17 cf. for the description of the cows Weber Indische Studien, I, p.52 Hillebrandt, Rituallitteratur p.139 see also Dollée Śadvimśa-brahmaṇa (translation), p.83.

which gives milk for the Agnihotra, sits down at the time of milking it is to be given to whom the sacrificer will not visit for one year. For when the cow sits, it is to be understood that she sits seeing the future disaster (avartī) and when she is given to somebody that disaster goes to that person (JB I.58). ŚB XII.4.9-10 does not give the limit of one year of not visiting. Further ŚB also quotes the opinion of yājñavalkya according to whom the cow is not to be given at all. TB I.4.3.2 prescribes that the cow is to be given to a person whose food the sacrificer will not eat. AB V.27 (=VII.3) does not qualify the person either not to be visited or whose food is not to be eaten etc. Similarly, if the Agnihotra cow yields blood it is understood that the cow has done so seeing some future disaster of the sacrificer and the cow is to be given to whom one will not visit. Then the disaster will go to that person (ŚB XII.4.2.1)

In this connection, the dakṣiṇās of the Vrātyastoma sacrifice can be mentioned. There are the vrātyadhanas. They consist of a turban (uṣṇīṣa), a goad (pratoda), a bow without arrow (jyāhroḍa), a board-covered rough vehical (vipathah phalakāstīrṇah), a garment with black fringes (kṛṣṇaśam vāsaḥ), two goat skins : one white and another black (kṛṣṇaṇavalakṣe ajine) and a silver garment (worn out

around the neck) (rājato niṣkah). These things are to be brought by the Gr̥hapati for giving as dakṣiṇās. The other vr̥atyas have upper garments with red borders (valūkāntāni) and corded fringes (dāmatūṣāni) with stringes at each side. Each of them has a pair of shoes (upānahau) and doubly - joined goat's skin (dviṣamhitāni ajināni). "On him to whom they bestow (these vr̥atyadhanas) they transfer (their guilt or unworthiness)" (TMB AVII.1.14ff)

Reasonings behind the dakṣiṇās -

a) nature of the sacrifice.

It will be seen that the nature of the dakṣiṇās depends upon the nature of the sacrifice. The dakṣiṇās mentioned above have a magical relation to the purpose and nature of the sacrifice.¹⁸ Thus for example among the dakṣiṇās of the punarādheya, some renewed or second-hand things are mentioned. The punarādheya is the second establishment of the fires in the case when the first is not bringing any prosperity. The dakṣiṇās there are magically connected with the nature of the sacrifice. For the Sautrāmaṇī a mare is the dakṣiṇā. For it produces a horse as well as a mule. ~~Sautrāmaṇī is also soma as well as a mule.~~ Sautrāmaṇī is also soma as well as surā (TB I.8.6.

18 Hillebrandt, rituallitteratur, p.97.

3-4) Thus the two^{fold} character of Sautrāmaṇi and the ability of a mare to produce two kinds of animals have a magic relation and the mare is an appropriate dakṣiṇā of the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice. For the Āgrayaṇa offering an ox of the first birth is given - for this (Āgrayaṇa) is the first ceremony (KB IV.14).

b) deities -

Some dakṣiṇās are given on the basis of the deities.¹⁹ The dakṣiṇā of an Agnyādheya is gold because it belongs to Agni. As an option an ox is also mentioned to be given. It possesses the nature of Agni as far as its shoulder is concerned. For by carrying the yoke, it is burnt by fire as it were (ŚB II.2.3.28). The dakṣiṇā of the Indratūriya offering is a yoke-trained cow. In this offering offerings are made to Agni, Varuṇa, Rudra and Indra. In an elaborate manner, it is shown how such a cow is pertinent as a dakṣiṇā. Since the cow is yoke-trained and her shoulder is burnt by fire as it were, she is sacred to Agni. Being a female and still carrying the yoke she belongs to Varuṇa. As she is a cow, she belongs to Rudra. In as much as Indra's curds (the curds which is offered to Indra in this offering) is prepared out of

19 cf. Gonda, change and continuity p.218.

her milk, she belongs to Indra (ŚB V.2.4.13; cp. TB II. 7.1.2-3) Similarly in the Triṣaṃyuktīya-yāgas the dakṣiṇā for the offering to Viṣṇu is a dwarf bull. The reason is that the dwarf bull belongs to Viṣṇu (ŚB V.2.5.4).

c) priests -

Some dakṣiṇās are based on the nature of the priests. The dakṣiṇās of the Traidhātavī iṣṭi are of this kind. To brahman priest gold is given. For brahman does not perform (like adhvaryu) nor chants (like Udgātr) nor recites (like the hotṛ); yet he is to be respected. In like manner with gold they do nothing. But still, it is an object of respect. Therefore, gold and brahman have some similarity and it is to be given to him. Three cows are to be given to the hotṛ. For hotṛ is abundance (bhūmā) and three cows are also abundance as it were. Three garments are to be given to the adhvaryu. For adhvaryu "spreads" the sacrifice and garments "spread" themselves over the body. (ŚB V.5.5.16-18) In the pravargya ceremony gold is given to the brahman. The reason is that the brahman is seated and gold which is equal to glory (yaśas) is also "seated" as it were. To the adhvaryu the cow whose milk is used for the pravargya ceremony is to be given. For the pot of milk is scorched and the adhvaryu comes from the sacrificial ground is also like something scorched.

The cow which has yielded fast milk to the sacrificer is to be given to the hotṛ. For the sacrificer is equal to sacrifice and the hotṛ is also equal to the sacrifice. The cow which has yielded the fast milk to the sacrificer's wife is to be given to the chanters. For the udgātṛs do the wife's work on this occasion (ŚB XIV.3.1.32-34).

d) result -

Some dakṣiṇās are based upon the result or purpose. At ŚB AI.1.1.5 a bow with three arrows and a staff is to be given for the Trihaviṣka lṣṭi which is performed as an expiation if one keeps fast and then the moon rises at the time of new moon offering. The moon is here supposed to be a heavenly dog and by means of the bow and the staff it is supposed to be removed. TB I.3.3.7 mentions the golden vessel full of honey to be given with the purpose of becoming possessor of honey etc. (madhavyaḥ asānīti.)

e) offering material -

The dakṣiṇā has some magical relation with the offering material sometimes. At the Paśubandha in the Sautrāmanī a reddish-white cow which is clearly with a calf is to be seized for Aditi. The dakṣiṇā of this

animal-sacrifice is also the same kind of cow. Then a dappled cow which is clearly with a calf is seized for Maruts and the dakṣiṇā for this is also a dappled cow clearly with a calf (ŚB V.5.2.8.9).

Thus, it will be seen that the Brāhmaṇas have some explanation for the particular kind of dakṣiṇā they prescribe.

Quantity of Dakṣiṇās -

As far as the quantity of the dakṣiṇās is concerned we may remark that it is comparatively moderate. In the later ritual literature and particularly in the epics and purāṇas the number of cows or similar dakṣiṇās is told in a lofty manner (see e.g. Mahābhārata XII.29.98ff). In the Brāhmaṇa-texts we find that the number of the things to be given is also shown to be magically significant. In the Mitravivadā iṣṭi ten cows are the dakṣiṇās. For, there are ten deities, ten sacrificial dishes and ten offerings (ŚB XI.4.3.18). The reason why gold is often mentioned to be of the measure of one hundred grains is that a hundred years is the standard life-measure. ŚB XIII.4.1.6 mentions that to each of the four priests who eat the brahmaudana at the Āsvamedha one thousand cows are to be given. For sahasra(thousand)

is equal to "all" and Aśvamedha is also all. Thus, it will be seen how the number or quantity as well as the quality of the dakṣiṇās is also connected magically with the nature and purpose of the sacrifice.²⁰

Spirit, not letter -

The Brāhmaṇa-texts have laid emphasis on śraddhā as the real basis of the dakṣiṇā.²¹ Therefore after prescribing the normal dakṣiṇās of the establishment of fires ŚB II.2.2.5 prescribes that one may give more according to one's "faith (śraddhā)". Similar remark is made after prescribing the dakṣiṇās of Pitṛmedha also (ŚB XIII. 8.4.10). For the relation between śraddhā and dakṣiṇā cf. also TB III.9.11.8 where it is prescribed that one who wants to have ample faith of others should give ample dakṣiṇās. ŚB XIV. 6.9.22 describes śraddhā as the foundation (pratiṣṭhā) of the dakṣiṇā.

20 Heesterman consecration, p.164; cf. also Bollée, Sadvimśabrāhmaṇa p.64 in the note on II.10.14.

21 For the relation between śraddhā and dakṣiṇā see Oldenberg ZDMG, 50, 448; the same weltanschauung, p.215; Bloomfield AJPh; 17, 412; Silburn, Instant et cause, p.89f; Gonda, VIJ, 1964, "Gift; and giving in the R̥gveda", p.30; the same, Religionen Indiens, I.43; the same, Change and Continuity, 218; Heesterman, IJJ, 3.243.

The dakṣiṇā is not meant to be forced. The giver should give it without hesitation, with liberality etc. "whatever dakṣiṇā he gives unhesitatingly, with a liberal mind thereby he gets great things (yām vai rātamānā avicikitsan dakṣiṇām dadāti tayā mahajjayati.) (ŚBIV.3.4.20)

When some special kinds of dakṣiṇās are mentioned, the likely difficulty in obtaining those things is taken into consideration and some alternative is given. A black cloth is the dakṣiṇā of an offering to Varuṇa; for whatever is "black" that belongs to Varuṇa. Then, it is said that if such a cloth is not available, a cloth of any colour with "knots" is to be given; for whichever contains "knots" is also sacred to Varuṇa (ŚB V.2.5.17). Among the Ratnin offerings at the offering in the house of Samgrahītr a pair of "twin" bullocks is the dakṣiṇā; but if the "twin" bullocks are not available, then any two bullocks produced by successive birth from the same mother can be used (ŚB V.3.1.8).

The ability of the sacrificer is taken into consideration at the time of prescribing dakṣiṇās. After the Uḍavasānīyā lṣṭi an offering to Viṣṇu is made. ŚB IV.5.1.16 there prescribes that one may give dakṣiṇās as many as

one can afford. We have above mentioned how AB VI.35 states that dakṣiṇā is to be given may be a small one. It seems here that there is no rigidity in the dakṣiṇā rules. The Brāhmaṇatexts have not confined themselves to the form or letter of a rule, but they take into consideration the spirit also. Thus, theory and practice are both thought of in the Brāhmaṇas and in the ritualism itself the germs of spiritualism are found in them.

(H) PrāyāścittiThe mistakes in the ritual :

The sacrifice was growing in the period of Brāhmaṇas.. It was becoming more and more complex also. There were many small or big actions to be done and it was necessary to do them in the way prescribed. Any mistake in the performance would not only create obstacle in obtaining the good result of the sacrifice but would create some positive harm.¹

Let us see some examples in which we get the information about the bad results of mistakes. In the dialogue between Śauceya and Prācīnayogya we know some bad results of the mistakes. If at the time when the fires are taken out and the sacrificial vessels are brought down, the āhavanīya fire were to go out the eldest son would die before long in the case of him who would not know, the ritual knowledge, the expiation. Similarly if Gārhapatya fire were to go out, the lord of the house (Gṛhapati) would die; if the anvāharvyapa-

1 cf. Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice, p. 123f remarks "Dans ce dédale de prescription^s minutieuses l'erreur est aisée et les conséquences en sont terribles", cf. Hubert, Mauss, "Sacri", p.61; cf. also Winternitz, GIL, p.140; Keith, RFV, p. 463, Silburn, Instant et cause, p.87.

cana fire were to go out, the cattle would die; if all the fires were to go out, the family would be without heirs; if all the fires were to go out when there should be no wind, the sacrificer would see unpleasant things in this world as well as in the yonder world (ŚB XI.5.3.8ff). According to TB III.7.2.4-5 if the milk falls down after one offering is made, the sacrificer would loose the bipeds; and if he offers the second oblation at some other occasion then the quadrepeds will be lost. Earlier, TB I.7.2.1-2 it is said that if some part of the milk has been gone and offering is made from out of which remains, then the sacrificer would not have offspring and cattle and if that is not used, the sacrificer will not have any house. Therefore, it is to be poured on a moul. If the milk is touched by worms, and offered afterwards in the fire, then also the sacrificer is likely to be without offspring and cattle (TB III.7.2.2-3).

It is very interesting to note that the ritual mistake can sometimes cause physical disease.² Thus TB (III.7.2.3-4)

2 cf. Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p.325; the same Weltanschauung, p.209; for the relation of mistake and disease, cf. also Keith RPV, p. 265; W. Gampert, Die Sühnezeremonien in der altindischen Rechtsliteratur, p. 28.

says that if rain falls on milk and that is offered then the sacrificer will suffer from leprosy or he would get piles (arsas). The concept of ritual mistake as the cause of disease is very much connected with the prāyaścitti as a means of "curing" (see further).

Mistakes in the sacrificial performance create harm not only to the sacrificer but sometimes to the sacrificer and the priests simultaneously. Thus if the coals in the fire fall down before the prayājas (fore-offerings) are offered it is bad to those as follows : if they fall towards the east then it is bad to adhvaryu and the sacrificer; if towards the south, bad to brahman and the sacrificer; if towards the west, to hotṛ and the sacrificer's wife; if towards the north, then it is bad to agnīdh, cattle and the sacrificer (TB III.7.2.5.7).

Any kind of mistake damages the sacrifice and the sacrifice which is an achievement of perfection cannot give the good results expected. When a dog goes between the fires, the sacrifice is cut as it were (TB I.4.3.6). A mistake may create a hole (chidra) "One should not pass over a sentence of the Nivid; if one were to pass over a sentence of the Nivid, one would make a hole in the sacrifice" (AB III.11). One of the names of the sacrifice is Makha. While giving its etymology, the GB shows that there are two parts in this word

- mā (which implies negation) and kha (which implies a hole). It is suggested by means of this etymology that there should not be any hole in the sacrifice (GB II.2.5). The sacrificer which is often supposed to be like a chariot, ~~which~~ goes tumbling (bhreṣan) when there is any mistake from the side of ṛc, yajus, etc. (JUB III.4.3.1). A mistake is sometimes described as causing the joint (parva) of the sacrifice fail and break (ŚB XII.6.1.32). The mistakes are described as cutting the sacrifice (yajñasya kṛntatrāṇi) (JB II.45). The mistake is also described as a "calamity of the sacrifice (yajñasya vidhuram)" (JB II.41). It is also called sometimes "blameworthy" (nindya) (ŚB IV.2.5.10). It is suggested that a mistake can bring out "killing of the sacrifice" and, therefore, arrangement is to be done so that it should be safe; it should be protected (yajñasya aghātāya) (Tb III. 8.9.4). ŚB XI.1.4.4 we know that whenever any part is missing, it is called śipta and Śipiviṣṭa Viṣṇu gives that part. Viṣṇu is elsewhere said to be guarding whatever is badly done and Varuṇa is said to be guarding whatever is performed correctly (AB VII.5. Viṣṇur vai yajñasya durīṣṭam pāti Varuṇaḥ sviṣṭam). According to TMB, however, Varuṇa seizes that part of the sacrifice which is performed badly (yad vai yajñasya durīṣṭam tadvaruṇo grhṇāti. XIII.2.6; XV.1.3; 2.4).

Etymology and the meaning of the word Prāyaścitti :

In the later literature we find many efforts of giving etymology of the word Prāyaścitta.³ Practically all the efforts are of the nature of afterthought. Let us see only a few of them. Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya, commenting upon Pāṇini VI.1.157 says, "prāyasya citticittayoḥ suḍ askāro vā prāyaścittiḥ prāyaścittam" and thus seems to understand Prāya and citti or citta as the component parts and s is coming in addition. He, however, does not explain the meaning of the word. The commentator Yājñīkadeva on Kātyāśś XXV.1.1 says about the word prāyaścitta as follows - "prāyo vināśaḥ vidhyatikramajanito doṣaḥ citiḥ saṁjñāna ityasya dhātoś cittam anekārthatvād dhātoḥ saṁjñanam cittam ityucyate prāyasya / cittam prāyaścittam vinaṣṭasya karmanah saṁdhānam ityarthah ...". Thus here the word prāya is understood to mean "what is ruined or broken" and "citta" as "joining" and prāyaścitta means according to him "joining together the broken act". Sāyaṇa on SVB I.5.1 says that prāya means vihitadharmākara-
nasya prāptiḥ i.e. ^{not} doing something which is ~~not~~ prescribed and citta or citti means jñāna, knowledge.

3 For the collection of the various efforts of the etymological explanation of the word see P.V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol.IV, p.57ff; cf. also W. Gampert, Sühnezeremonien, p. 24ff.

Monier-Williams⁴ gives the basic meaning of the word Prāyaścitta as "predominant thought". Willman-Grabowska also translates "la pensée prédominante".⁵ Wackernagel⁶ understands the first part as prāyas and (not prāya) meaning 'making good' 'friendship' etc. and translates the word prāyaścitta as 'Genugtuung' (eig. "Sorge für Freundschaft"). Oldenberg⁷ translates this word as "Sorge für (guten) Fortgang" and adds a question-mark. According to J.V. Negelein⁸ prāyaścitta

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- 4 Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 1960, p. 708.
- 5 H. Willman-Grabowska, "L'expiation (prāyaścitti) dans les Brāhmaṇas" in the Bulletin Internationale de L'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres classe d'histoire et de Philosophie, Cracow, 1935, p.237.
- 6 Wackernagel, Debrunner, Altindische Grammatik, II.1, Göttingen, 1957, p.44.
- 7 Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p. 325, n.1.
- 8 JAOS, XXXIV (1915), "Atharvaṇaprayāścittāni", p.233; cf. also Stenzler, "On the Hindou doctrine of expiation" Transactions of the second session of the international congress of orientologists, London, 1874, p.23.

is similar to Pratikāra i.e. "Abwehrsmittel". E. Leumann⁹ gives the meaning of the word as "das Denken an Besserung d. h. Beichte und Besse". Gampert¹⁰ having discussed the various opinions gives his meaning as follows : "Vorsatz des asketischen Suchens des Todes durch Enthaltung von Nahrung, um (Sühnung) zu erzwingen" Mayrhofer¹¹ also translates the word as "Busse".

As far as the Brāhmaṇa-texts are concerned they give no etymology of the word Prāyaścitti. The forms of the word Prāyaścitta occur in the Brāhmaṇa-texts sometimes e.g. ṢaḍB I.6.12ff; SVB I.5.3; GB I.4.6 etc. but the more frequent forms are of the word prāyaścitti. It is, however, interesting to find that GB I.3.13 places Prāyaścitti in juxtaposition with the word Vidyā ("ritually or magically potent or effective wisdom or knowledge")¹² About this we are going to give details afterwards but it is noteworthy that the meaning given

9 "Buddha und Mahāvīra, die beiden Indischen Religionsstiften" (Untersuchungen z. Gesch. d. Buddh. 6, München, 1921, p. 25).

10 Gampert, Sühnezeremonien, p. 27.

11 Mayrhofer, Wörterbuch, Vol. II, p.377.n.

12 Gonda, "Pratiṣṭhā", Samjñāvyākaraṇa (SIL) 1954, p.6.

by Sāyana which we have referred to above has a significant support here. From the etymology point of view, however, the Brāhmaṇa-texts do not help us.

The cases when Prāyaścitti is required :

Let us see the conditions in which the Prāyaścitti is to be performed. A big number of Prāyaścittis are to be performed on the occasions which are absolutely of the nature of "accidents" and in order to avoid the bad consequences of those the Prāyaścitti is done. A cow which is being milked for the offerings of Agnihotra may call aloud (AB V.27; ŚB XII.4.1.12) or stumble (AB V.27). The fires may mix up, e.g., Gārhapatya and Āhavaniya may mix up (AB VII.6) or all fires may be mingled (AB VII.6) or they may mingle with forest fires (AB VII.7) or with village fires (AB VII.7). It is possible that the fires may go out either singly or all (GB I.3.13; AB VII.8). All these occasions are merely accidental. But they are to be atoned for by means of Prāyaścittis.

Prāyaścittis are also to be performed if the prescribed rules or taboos are neglected. For example, the Brahman priest is expected to keep silence; but he might break his silence (ŚB I.7.4.20) or the sacrificer who is expected to speak truth might speak untruth (ŚB III.4.3.1; TMB VIII.6.13) or the sacrificer might eat the food of a woman with child

(which is not to be done)(AB VII.9). Sometimes the Agni-hotra might not be offered even when the Sun has arisen or set (AB VII.12; JB I.61-62; ŚB XII.9.4.6). The horse of the Ásvamedha might couple with a mare (ŚB XIII.6.8.1) or might be caught by enemies (ŚB XIII.3.8.6). On such occasions prāyaścittis are to be performed. Prāyaścitti is also required if tears are shed during the sacrificial performance (GB II.1.15).

In the Sāmavidhāna-brāhmaṇa which is very much similar to the Sūtraliterature¹³ we find some cases of Prāyaścittis which are not connected with the Śrauta ritual. They rather come in the field of social law and order. Thus there we find that Prāyaścittis are given for teaching an improper person (SVB I.5.10), drinking wine etc. (SVB I.5.15), assault (SVB I.7.4; 8.13-15), intercourse with a Śūdra woman (SVB I.6.6) etc. Prāyaścitti is required for such guilts. These occasions and Prāyaścittis have been studied by Burnell and he has rightly remarked that we have here some elements of criminal law of later times.¹⁴

13 cf. Winternitz, GIL, I, p.239. also Gampert Sühnezeremonien, p.5.

14 A.C. Burnell, The Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa, Vol. I, London, 1873, introduction, p. XV.

The Brāhmaṇas in general, however, treat Prāyaścitti only in connection with the Śrauta ritual. The difference between the latter Prāyaścittas and the Prāyaścittis in the Brāhmaṇa-texts in general is that originally the Brahmanical Prāyaścittis are merely in connection with the ritual and have no reference to crime and punishments.¹⁵ The Prāyaścittis in the Brāhmaṇas are mainly connected with the accidental mishaps which take place, without notice.¹⁶ The juxtaposition of Vidyā and Prāyaścitti suggests the importance of knowledge, carefulness etc. so that mistakes may not happen.

The ways of Prāyaścittis :

The ways in which Prāyaścitti is made and the mistakes are atoned for differ in different cases.

reciting verses :

A Prāyaścitti can be done by means of reciting sacred verses.¹⁷ When the Soma is being carried to the place of sacrifice the soma-cart might produce some noise of creaking.

15 Stenzler, "expiation", p. 206.

16 Kane, History of Dharmasāstra, IV, p. 57.

17 cf. Gonda, "Indian Mantra", Oriens, 16, 1963, p.266f.

For this mishap a verse is recited (svaṅgoṣṭham avadatam VS V.17). This is the Prāyaścitti (ŚB III.5.3.17). If any secular word is uttered then some ṛc or yajus text addressed to Viṣṇu is to be recited (ŚB I.1.4.9). If the brahman breaks silence and utters a secular word then also a ṛc or yajus text is recited. That ṛc or yajus text should be addressed to Viṣṇu. For Viṣṇu is identical with the sacrifice and by using such a text addressed to Viṣṇu one obtains hold on the sacrifice (ŚB I.7.4.20). If the Agnihotra-cow which is united with the calf and being milked calls aloud one has to say sūyavasād bhagavatī ... (RV I.164.10)(AB V.27).

offerings :

The mishaps are sometimes atoned for by means of offerings. If the Gārhapatya and Āhavanīya were to mix a cake on eight potsherds is offered to Agni Vīti (AB VII.6). If the fires of an āhitāgni mingle with the other fires then a cake on eight potsherds is to be offered to Agni Vivici (TB I.7.3.5). If an āhitāgni sheds tears a cake on eight potsherds is to be offered to Agni Vratabhṛt (AB VII.8). If the soma of which some part is drunk and the soma of which no part has been drunk become mixed together then also an offering is to be made of that mixture to Indra and Agni (TMB IX.9.8). If the fire were to go out after the first libation has been offered, then an offering is to be made

with the words "dārau dārau agnih" after putting a log of wood on the fireplace (ŚB XII.4.3.1; JB I.56). If the lightning burns one's sacrificial fires a cake is to be offered to Agni Apsumat (ŚB XII.4.4.4). If some disease befalls on the horse of the Ásvamedha a pap is prepared for Pūṣan. Pūṣan rules over the beasts. When Pūṣan is gratified the horse becomes free from disease (ŚB XIII.3.8.2).

There is some mystical connection between the Prāyaścitti and the deity to which the offering is made as a way of Prāyaścitti. Thus for example if an Āhitāgni looses gold, an offering is made to Agni Hiranyavat (= with gold) (AB VII.9). If the filter (pavitra) is lost then an offering is made to Agni Pavitravat (with filter) (AB VII.9). If the sacrificial horse couples with a mare a milk oblation is to be given to Vāyu. For Vāyu is a transformer of seeds. For Vāyu is identical with the vital air which is a transformer of seeds. By means of seeds one puts seeds into it (ŚB XIII.3.8.1).

Sometimes a connection with the offering material and the purpose for which it is offered as a Prāyaścitti is seen. If any eye-disease befalls on the horse a pap (caru) to Sūrya is given. The reason why it is caru is that by means of the eye the body moves (car) and the root car is connected with caru (ŚB XIII.3.6.4).

substitutes :

Making substitute is another way of the Prāyaścitti performances.¹⁸ When the morning-milking for the Sāmnāyā becomes spoiled or someone carried it one should prepare in its place a cake for Indra or Mahendra (AB VII.4). If the offering spoon splits then it is put on the Āhavanīya and with another spoon all the duties are done (AB VII.5). If the Āśvamedha-horse is lost, another horse should be brought and sprinkled and sacrifice should be performed by means of this horse. This substitution itself is the Prāyaścitti (ŚB XIII.1.6.3). If the soma-pressing stone is broken then another is to be taken; but if none is available an implement made of Udumbara wood or Palāśa wood will be the substitute (JB I.353). If the soma plant is not available, the Pūtikāplants are to be used. If Pūtikāplants are not available then arjuna-plants are to be used and so on (TMB IX.5.3ff; cp. JB I.354f).

uttering Vyāhrtis :

The utterances bhūh, bhuvah and svah have got some magical significance and by uttering them the Prāyaścitti is made. The origin of the Vyāhrtis is told in the following

18 V. Negelein, JAOS, XXXIV (1915) p. 235.

manner. Prajāpati desired to creat the world and beings. He practised penance and created the three worlds. From those worlds heated three bright things (śukra) were born, viz., from the earth the fire, from the air the wind and from the sky the Sun. From these bright things heated the three Vedas were born. When those three Vedas were heated, the Vyāhrtis were born. The gods were advised by Prajāpati to perform the sacrifices by means of three Vedas. The gods asked for the remedies if any wrong happened in the performance of the sacrifice. Prajāpati then explained them the use of the three Vyāhrtis which were the essence of the Vedas. If any mishap with regard to the ṛc happens then an offering is to be offered in the Gārhapatya fire with the words bhūs svāhā; if with regard to yajus then in the Āgnidhra fire, with bhuvas svāhā and if with regard to sāman then in the Āhavanīyafire, with svas svāhā. (JB I.357f for the story of origin see also JUB III.4.1.4ff; AB V.32).¹⁹

The Vyāhrtis are called "the all-prāyaścittis (sarva-prāyaścitti)" (AB V.32; ŚB XII.4.1.8; JB I.53; 60; 63; JUB III.4.3.3). They can be used for any unknown mishap (JB I. 358; AB V.32) or according to ṢaḍB I.6.17 for both the

19 JB I.363 we read that Śitibāhu Aṣakṛta saw the Vyāhrtis.

mishaps known and unknown. If for example, the Agnihotra-milk is spoiled then one pours some water with the Vyāhṛtis (ŚB XII.4.1.6-8; JB I.53f). The function of the Vyāhṛtis is of "joining" the sacrifice which is "broken" when some mistake has taken place. "As one would mend gold with salt, silver with gold, tin with silver, copper with tin, iron with copper, wood with iron, wood and leather with glue even so one knowing this cures everything" (JUB III.4.3.3). "These Vyāhṛtis are internal fastenings of the Vedas; just as one may unite one thing with another or joint with a joint or with a cord unite an object of leather or something which has come apart, so with this one unites whatever in the sacrifice has come apart (broken)". (AB V.32).

to do in the correct manner what is done wrongly :

If the Gārhapatya fire goes out it is supposed mystically that it has gone to the churning sticks. Then one has to churn out fire again and put it in the place of Gārhapatya fire and Prāyaścitti is made (ŚB VI.6.4.13). Similarly if the Āhavaniya fire goes out it is supposed to have gone to the Gārhapatya and it is brought from Gārhapatya and Prāyaścitti is made (ŚB VI.6.4.14). If the fire-pan (ukhā) is broken another is to be prepared. This action of preparing the fire-pan itself is the Prāyaścitti (ŚB VI.6.4.7f). Here the repetition of the action is to be done and that is of the nature of the Prāyaścitti.

giving to the Priests :

Prāyaścittis are made sometimes by giving something to the priests. If the Agnihotra-cow when united with the calf and being milked sits down, the cow is addressed with the words "yasmād bhīṣā ..." and made rise with "udasthād devyaditiḥ ...". Then a pot of water is placed on her udder and mouth and then she is given to a Brāhmaṇa (AB V.32). If the Agnihotra-cow were to milk blood then the blood is boiled on the Anvāhāryapacana fire and is offered silently. The sacrificer gives that cow to a Brāhmaṇa whom he does not intend to visit (ŚB XII.4.2.1. cf. also JB I.60). In the Śunāsīriyā-iṣṭi a white cow is given to a priest and this represents the prāyaścitti (GB II.1.26).

symbolical performance :

If the Sun sets on a man's fire before it is taken out, the performer should put gold in front in the evening. The Agnihotra in the evening is to be performed before the sunset in the evening. But if it is not done so the gold is used. The gold represents the Sun; for gold is pure light and the Sun is also pure light. In the morning Agnihotra is to be performed before the Sun rises; but if it is late, then silver is to be put. For silver represents the moon and thereby the night. Thus symbolically the Agnihotra becomes offered correctly. (AB VII.12; KB II.5; ŚB XII.4.4.6; JB

I.61-62). Similarly if the Sun were to set on one's Vasatīvarī water a fire-brand or a piece of gold is to be used in order to represent the Sun (ŚB III.9.2.8). Thus symbolical performance is done as a Prāyaścitti in these cases in order to atone for the mistakes.

avāntaradīkṣā :

The avāntaradīkṣā (intermediate consecration) can also serve as a Prāyaścitti. The Gods desired a Prāyaścitti for having spoken evil to one another and practised the avāntaradīkṣā. By means of this dīkṣā one makes Prāyaścitti for what one has done injurious to the vow which ^{one} ~~one~~ has accepted at the dīkṣā ceremony (ŚB III.4.3.1).

"non-ritual" prāyaścittis :

There are some Prāyaścittis which are of "non-ritual" character. They are of practical character. Thus for example, if any one's Agnihotra-cow lows while being milked a bunch of grass is to be given for eating (AB VI.27; ŚB XII.4.1.12). Here the Prāyaścitti is purely of the practical sort and can be described as "non-ritual".

no prāyaścitti at all :

Sometimes no Prāyaścitti is mentioned. Thus there is a dialogue as follows : "What is the Prāyaścitti if it were

to rain upon any one's Agnihotra milk when it has been ladled into the offering spoon ?" The answer is, "Let him know light (or sap) has come to me from above. The Gods have helped me from above and then let him make offering therewith (ŚB XII.4.2.10; JB I.56). Here no Prāyaścitti has been mentioned. It is a rule that the Sun should not set upon the sacrificer when the sacrificer is abiding elsewhere than the sacrificial hall. Again the Sun should not rise while the sacrificer is sleeping. There is no prāyaścitti if these rules are broken (nātra prāyaścittir asti). One has to be careful and behave in the correct manner (ŚB III.2.2.27).

prāyaścitti by means of sāmān :

Some sāmāns are described as having the Prāyaścitti nature as well as having the curing nature (bheṣaja). Thus the seventh day in the Dvādaśāha sacrifice is described as "fallen down as it were (vibhraṣṭam iva)". The Jarābodhīya sāmān which is Prāyaścitti and bheṣaja is, therefore, used to cure it (JB III.197). Similar remark is made about the Sauśravasa sāmān (JB III.202).

The significance of the Prāyaścittis :

As is stated above the mishap or mistake "breaks" the sacrifice and the Prāyaścitti "joins" the sacrifice. The

ideal sacrifice is "whole, complete, intact" etc. The Prāyaścitti helps to obtain this ideal stage by "joining" the parts (cf. ŚB XIII.6.1.1-2; JB I.358; GB I.3.18). "Joining" is thus a very important significance of the Prāyaścitti. Sometimes a Prāyaścitti is intended to bring "fullness". After the sacrifice has been completed, the adhvaryu walks round the fire to the south and pours out a vessel full of water. Thereby everything becomes full (ŚB I.9.3.1ff). The mishap is supposed as "missing the way". So the Prāyaścitti brings the sacrifice to its own proper way, its norm. When the Gārhapatya fire is set out an offering is given to Agni Pathikṛt who will then bring the performance to the normal "path" (ŚB XII.4.4.1; TB I.4.4.10). By means of Prāyaścittis one can remove the evil (pāpman) (ŚB XII.6.1.3ff). The Prāyaścittis also make the sacrifice to incline towards the sacrificer (ŚB XII.6.1.3ff). Another function of the Prāyaścittis is to give firm foundation (pratiṣṭhā)²⁰ to the sacrifice among the gods (GB II.2.10; cp. TB III.7.2.1ff).

To appease (śam) is also another significance of Prāyaścittis. When two fires are united they burn the

20 For Pratiṣṭhā see Gonda, "Pratiṣṭhā" in saṃjñāvyākaraṇa (SIL) I, 1954, p.1ff.

family and cattle of the sacrificer if they are not appeased. An offering to Agni Agnimat is offered and then the fires are appeased (ŚB XII.4.3.4f; JB I.65). Similarly if the fires are burnt by lightning then offerings are given to Agni Apsumat in order to appease fire lest that would burn the sacrificer's family and cattle (ŚB XII.4.4.4). The water has pacifying and appeasing powers and it is used with that purpose in the prāyaścittis. If a man's Agnihotra-milk when put on the fire spoils or pours over, water is to be poured (AB VII.5). Waters are said to be appeasing all things (āpo vai sarvasya śāntiḥ). Therefore, by means of them, appeasing of the cruelty involved in killing soma, the king is made (JB I.82). If there are bad priests for the performance of the sacrifice, the bad consequences of this mistake are appeased by the brāhmaṇ by means of sprinkling water (GB I.1.13f). The waters are called "appeasement" and "medicine" (śāntir vai bheṣajam āpaḥ KB III.6; VI.14; TB I.1.3.1).

Another significance often found is that of "curing". This is expressed by means of the words such as Bhiṣajyati etc. As the mistakes are supposed to be like disease they are to be cured by means of Prāyaścittis which are like medicines. JB I.358 it is said that a wise priest joins the sacrifice and cures it by means of Prāyaścittis. Similarly

whenever there is some mistake in the process of the soma-sacrifice an offering is made to the deity concerned at that particular stage and then the deity "cures" the sacrifice (ŚB XII.6.1.1-2). The brahman priest is chiefly intended for the performance of Prāyaścittis. Brahman is rightly described as the physician of the sacrifice (AB V.34; ŚB XIV.2.2.19; cp. JB I.358).²¹

The word niṣkṛti (removal) is used in the connection of Prāyaścitti. If any wagon or any one moves through the fire place of a sacrificer who is a performer of long session, at the time of offering the Agnihotra, niṣkṛti is to be made according to some ritualists (ŚB XII.4.1.2). Here the word niṣkṛti removal (of the mistake) is used. Thus we understand that one of the functions of Prāyaścitti is to remove the mishaps.

The Prāyaścitti is not merely for avoiding the bad consequences. It is also positively useful. If at the sacrifice some earthen vessel is broken it is touched with the words "earth has gone to earth ... " Thereby the sacrificer becomes prosperous (ṢaḍB I.6.20).

21 cf. Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p. 395; Gonda, Religionen Indiens, I, p.142.

From ritualism to spiritualism :

Even though the mistakes in the sacrifice were supposed to create some positive harm, the Prāyāścittis are to be performed when some mistakes occur, there were some thinkers who used to neglect the mistakes and profess that one should not be afraid of them. Thus Āruṇi said, "How would it be possible to sacrifice for oneself or another and be on the one hand distressed at the failure and on the other rejoiced at the success of it ? I should sacrifice at the right time for myself and at the right time for another. I am rejoiced at the failure of the sacrifice and I am rejoiced at its success" (ṢaḍB I.6.2f). ŚB IV.5.7.9 puts this rather differently "why should he sacrifice who thinks himself worse for a miscarriage of the sacrifice ? I, for one, am the better for a miscarriage of the sacrifice". (ŚB IV.5.7.9). ŚB XI.4.4.8ff we read how mistakes also are helpful. whatever is incomplete that is productive; whatever is redundant that is favourable to cattle and whatever is uncertain (samkasuka) is helpful for getting prosperity. Thus we find here how dryness and rigidity of the rules of the performance of the sacrifice are not dominating everywhere. The essence or spirit of the sacrifice is more important than the mere details. Therefore, the knowledge of the correct ritual is more important and then even if some mistake in the

performance happens that also will lead to good result.

We have already shown above how Prāyaścitti and Vidyā are mentioned side by side. Uddālaka Āruṇi asked Śauceya Prācīnayogya, "What is thy Agnihotra cow ? What is thy calf ..." and after asking many such details remarked, "If thou hast offered the Agnihotra knowing this then it has indeed been offered by thee; but if thou hast offered it (not knowing this), then it has not been offered by thee (ŚB XI.5.3.4). Then Uddālaka gave him the mystic interpretation of the Agnihotra. Then Śauceya asked the knowledge, the Prāyaścitti (ŚB XI.5.3.8ff we find the word vidita = knowledge, and GB I.3.13 uses the word vidyā with the same meaning) for various mishaps or mistakes. Thus the Brāhmaṇa-texts give importance to knowledge everywhere and that is the link between the ritualism and spiritualism.

(I) Avabhr̥thaIntroduction :

Avabhr̥ta takes place at the end of a soma-sacrifice. The sacrificer takes bath along with his wife and this bath along with the related rites is called Avabhr̥tha which is to be taken into consideration now.

The performance of the avabhr̥tha¹:

At the end of the soma-sacrifice samiṣṭayajus is performed and then the sacrificer throws the black deer's horn and the girdle into the cātvala (pit) (ŚB IV.4.5.2). Then prastotṛ sings a s̄aman in Aticchandasa metre addressed to Agni (ŚB IV.4.5.6-8). Then the sacrificer and the priests go towards the water and where there is a standing pool of flowing water, there the sacrificer descends into the water (ŚB IV. 4.5.9-10; JB II.67). ŚaḍB III.1.32 allows that one may go to the running water. In the first sacrificial session on the bank of Sarasvatī, the performers should go to the river Yamunā at Kārapācava (and never to the river Sarasvatī) (cf. TMB 44V.10.23 and Sāyana's commentary on it. For the Avabhr̥tha in the river Yamunā see also TMB 44V.13.4). Then after kindling the fire,

1 For the avabhr̥tha see Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, 407ff; Hubert, Mauss, "Sacri". p.868. Caland, Henry, L'Agnistoma, section 254; Keith, RPV, p.303f; Gonda, Religionen Indiens I. p.157.

offerings are made to Agni and Varuṇa. After the offerings the pot, in which the husks are, is made to float (ŚB IV.4.5.12-20). The sacrificer immerses into the water and prays for being free from sin (ŚB IV. 4.5.22). Then both the sacrificer and his wife bathe and wash each other's back. Having wrapped themselves in fresh garments they step out and return to the place of sacrifice. Then an offering is made into the Āhavanīya fire (ŚB IV.4.5.23; cf. JB II.67).

A mention may be made of the special features of avabhṛtha in the Āśvamedha. An offering is made to bhrūṇa-hatyā (killing of an embryo). Thereby death is supposed to be pleased and a cure is made to one who kills an embryo (TB III.9.15.2-3). Again the last of the Āśvastomīya oblation is made at the time of the avabhṛtha of the Āśvamedha sacrifice. With the words - "to Jumbaka hail" an offering is made on the head of a white-spotted, bald-headed man with protruding teeth and reddish brown eyes. Jumbaka is Varuṇa and the person described represents Varuṇa. Thereby freedom from Varuṇa is obtained (ŚB AIII.3.6.5; TB III.9.15.3).²

2 For this offering see Oldenberg, ZDMG, 18(1864), p.268; Oldenberg opposes Weber's theory that the man is drowned in the water in the course of this offering. Religion des Veda, p.408, n.1.

Etymology of the word Avabhr̥tha :

The word Avabhr̥tha is derived from the root hr̥ with the prefix ava. The explanation given is as follows - The vital sap of the soma has been produced (extracted) by the priests for the offerings and then there is no sap in the body of the Soma i.e. the soma-husks. Yet it is not to be cast away. It is to be taken down (avahr̥-) to the waters. The waters are sap and the sap is put into the soma, and the Soma is produced thereby. And because they take it down (avahr̥) to the water, therefore, the bath is called avabhr̥tha (ŚB IV.4.5.1)³. The etymology is open to objection and one can better derive the word from avabhr̥ meaning to carry off, remove etc.⁴ and keep concord with the Brāhmaṇa-texts which connect the avabhr̥tha to the removal of sin etc.

3 cf. Renou, Vocabulaire, p.21 where he says - "boin final de purification, proprement d'emportement ou de descente (à l'eau) ainsi dans le soma".

4 For the expiative character of the avabhr̥tha see Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p.320. He, however, on p.407f says that purification from sin is not the "original" purpose of avabhr̥tha. The original purpose is according to him to remove the supernatural powers which the sacrificer has taken upon himself at the time of Dīkṣa; cf. Keith, RPV, p.303; p.276 cp. Gonda, New Indian Antiquary, Vol.2, p.75 Pinard Trois énigmes II.291 understands the significances

Symbolical performances of the avabhr̥tha :

Sometimes the avabhr̥tha is performed only symbolically. In the animal-sacrifice for Agni and Soma, avabhr̥tha is symbolically performed with the heart-spit (hr̥dayasūla). It is not to be thrown into the ground nor into the water. On going down to the water, the adhvaryu buries it at the place where the dry and the moist meet. Optionally a vessel of water can be poured out in front of the sacrificial post and where the dry and the moist meet, there the heart-spit is to be buried. Varuṇa is solicited then to release the sacrificer from any sin (ŚB III.8.5.8ff). This is to be understood as the avabhr̥tha (ŚB AI.7.2.7). Here the actual avabhr̥tha bath does not take place and, therefore, this avabhr̥tha is symbolic one. Similarly by means of the heart-spit symbolic avabhr̥tha is performed in the animal sacrifice which takes place at the beginning (ŚB VI.2.2.38) and at the end (ŚB IA.5.1.41) of the Fire-building ceremony.

In the Agnihotra when the sacrificer cleanses, that is understood as a form of avabhr̥tha (ṢaḍB IV.1.10; cf. TB II.1.4.9; JB I.4). Similarly at the end of the Darśapūrṇamāsa

of the avabhr̥tha as purification and desacralization
Heesterman, IJ VI p.13f says that the consecrated sacrificer who is impure when he is engaged in the ritual becomes pure by means of this avabhr̥tha-bath.

offerings when the sacrificer cleanses his mouth, he makes a symbolical avabhr̥tha (TB III.3.10.4). In the symbolical description of the study as the Brahmayajña the truth is understood as avabhr̥tha (ŚB XI.5.6.3). In this way where there is no avabhr̥tha-bath as such by the very nature, there symbolically avabhr̥tha is said to be performed when certain actions are done. The avabhr̥tha-bath proper is a characteristic of a soma-sacrifice. But when the avabhr̥tha is said to be present at least symbolically, those rites are indirectly given the nature of soma-sacrifice just for the sake of their elevation and praise. For soma-sacrifice is very high sacrifice and even to possess any characteristics of that sacrifice was an elevating factor for a rite which was not a soma-sacrifice in itself.

Significances of the avabhr̥tha :

a) The avabhr̥tha is called sāmsthā (ŚB IV.2.1.38) the end, the temporal foundation of the sacrifice. It is an important concluding rite and marks the end of the sacrifice. The sacrifice should be performed to the end, so that it becomes well-founded from the temporal point of view and in this respect the avabhr̥tha is significant.

b) The chief significance of the avabhr̥tha is, however, to remove sin, to expiate etc.⁴ The sense of "removal" is in the word avabhr̥tha itself if seen from the grammatical point

of view. In the verse recited at the time of immersing into the water release from sin is desired - "O laving bath, laving thou glidest along; with the help of the Gods may I wipe out sin committed against the Gods; and with the help of mortals that committee against mortals (VS VIII.27 quoted in ŚB IV.4.5.22). In the verse recited at the time of avabhr̥tha in the Sautrāmaṇi, details of the sin are given - the sin done by day, by night, whether done when the person is awake, or when he is sleeping, done in the village or in the forest, in the assembly; the sin in the organs of sense, the sin against the Śūdra or Ārya and the sin against the right of anyone. From these kinds of sins deliverance is desired (VS 11.14-18 quoted in ŚB 11.9.2.2). ŚB IV.4.5.23 it is remarked that the sacrificer casts away all his sin as a snake castes away all his skin and there is not in him even as much sin as there is in a toothless child. ŚaḍB III.1.2 says that the water is appeasement of all and thus suggests the expiative character of the avabhr̥tha. ŚaḍB III.1.32 mentions that he who sacrifices kills evil and, therefore, waters are addressed to carry evil away. For the expiative character of the avabhr̥tha see also the passage from Jābāli brāhmaṇa in Ghosh, Lost Brāhmaṇs, p.107.

Connection with Varuṇa :

The avabhr̥tha-bath has a particular connection with Varuṇa. Thus we find that in the description of origin of

several details of Agniṣṭoma, it is said that the Gods created the avabhṛtha from Varuṇa (GB I.4.7). Accordingly avabhṛtha is described to be belonging to Varuṇa (ŚB IV.4.5.14). In the verse used at the time of avabhṛtha Varuṇa is prayed to deliver those who pray from the fetters (VS VI.22 quoted in ŚB III.8.5.10). Homage is paid to Varuṇa and the Varuṇa's share is desired to be down-trodden (ŚB IV.4.5.11). In the process of the avabhṛtha-performance a sacrificial cake is offered to Varuṇa (ŚB IV.4.5.15).⁵ Connection of Varuṇa and the prayer to be released from his fetters also suggests the expiative nature of the avabhṛtha. The sin from which deliverence is expected is the "ritual sin" or the mistakes made in the performance.⁶

c) Occasionally, other significances of the avabhṛtha rites are also mentioned. The significance of the sāmā-signing in the avabhṛtha is to remove the evil beings (ŚB IV.4.5.6ff). The same is the significance of the offering to Agni. For Agni is the repeller of the evil beings (ŚB IV.4.5.13). The significance of the sacrificial cake to Varuṇa is to put sap in the soma, the sap of which has been extracted.

5 For the avabhṛtha as freeing from Varuṇa, see Meyer, Trilogie, III. p.254.

6 cf. Keith, RPV, 478.

Then the soma becomes produced. The soma, when produced, produces the sacrificer (ŚB IV.4.5.17). According to GB 1.4.8 by performing the avabhṛtha one gets the association and the worlds of Varuṇa. In the prayer mentioned in connection with the avabhṛtha of the Sautrāmaṇi offering one says - "Along the waters have I gone this day; with their essence have we united; rich in the sap, O Agni have I come; do thou unite (supply) me with splendour, offspring, and with wealth (VS 44.22 quoted in ŚB 4II.9.2.9). Thus splendour offspring and wealth follow the avabhṛtha performance.

Conclusion :

The avabhṛtha which is performed at the end of the soma-sacrifice gives it a temporal foundation and sometimes it is performed symbolically in the rites not of the soma-sacrifice-nature in order to give them soma-sacrifice-nature. It is an expiatory rite ^{for} ~~from~~ removing away the ritual sin, but side by side other results like offspring, wealth, etc. are also attached to this rite.

(J) Abhicāra ritesIntroduction :

The sacrifice in general has a magico-religious nature. Thus Hillebrandt remarks that it is very difficult to know the difference between magic and sacrifice in Indian tradition.¹ Similarly Oldenberg says that in the Brāhmaṇa texts the sacrifice is becoming more and more magical.² He further says the sacrifice stands by the magic.³ Frazer has also said that confusion of magic and religion is often found in many primitive societies and also in India.⁴ Keith observes that turning of magic into prayer and sacrifice is a constant feature of vedic magic.⁵ Further he says that we cannot believe that there has been ever a time when the vedic sacrifice was not filled with magic elements.⁶ About the sacrifice in the Brāhmaṇas he remarks that it is

1 Hillebrandt, Ritualliteratur, p. 167 Lévi La doctrine du sacrifice. p. 129.

2 Oldenberg, Weltanschauung, p. 127 f.

3 Oldenberg, Weltanschauung, p. 129.

4 Frazer, Golden bough (abridged edition), p. 52 f.

5 Keith, RPV, p. 133.

6 Keith, RPV, p. 379.

a piece of magic pure and simple.⁷ Thus though the sacrifice in general can be called magico-religious certain rites which are meant for troubling the enemy are included in the sacrificial system of the vedic age are to be studied more particularly. One of the results expected to accrue from the sacrifice concerns with the enemies of the sacrificer. Thus the sacrificer desires to get victory over the enemy, to defeat him, to be superior to him and finally to kill him. In the sacrificial system there are many rites small or big for this purpose. Some of them are included in some particular sacrifice and some of them are separate sacrifices themselves. The Brāhamana texts use the forms of the root car with the prefix abhi in expressing such rites. Therefore, we may generalize them as the abhicara-rites.

Abhicara-rites included in a particular sacrifice :

In the soma-sacrifice in connection with the sāmsava there are some abhicāra-rites. When there are two soma-sacrificers performing soma-sacrifices at the same time, it is called sāmsava.⁸ The deities go to the sacrificer

7 Keith, RPV. p. 454

8 For the sāmsava and the contest of the two sacrificers in it see Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie I. p. 260

who has been consecrated first. The consecrated person then closes his hands (AB I.3). JB I 343, it is said that those who press the soma at the same time, they are enemies of each other (sapatnāyantiyaite ye sāmsunvanti). If they are not inimical and do not hate each other, then there is no sāmsava according to two lost Brāhmaṇas viz. Kāṅkati-brāhmaṇa and Chāgala-brāhmaṇa.⁹ But if anybody wants to overcome the other there are some abhicāra-rites by means of which the sacrifice of other sacrificer does not become successful. Thus, when two sacrifices are held simultaneously, the adhuaryu should in the dead of night, make the summons for the morning litany. Then he is the first to appropriate the voice, the metres and the deities.... The offerings are to be made on the well-flaming fire. The offerings are to be made with the formulas, "For lying down, ! for sitting down ! for the conquest of the metre Triṣṭubh Svāhā ! For lying down, for sitting down ! For the conquest of the Jagatī metre svāhā! " The conquests are the metres and by means of these he conquers the rivals. Both the Brhad and Rathantara sāmānī are to be used. The two Taurasravasa sāmāns should also be used. The soma-

9 See Ghosh Collection from the lost Brāhmaṇas,
p. 103 and p. 105.

pressing should be made before that of others (TMB IX 4.1 ff; cp. JB I.342). If the other soma sacrifice be an Agniṣṭoma then an Ukthya should be performed; If an Ukathya, then a Śoḍaśī; if a Śoḍaśī then an Atirātra; if an Atirātra then a Dvirātra, if a Dvirātra, then a Trirātra. Thus, the larger sacrifice is to be performed (JB I.344; cp. TMB IX 4.15). There are, however, some who say, "difficult to reach is the further path. From the sacrifice which he undertakes in the beginning, he should not depart (i.e. he should not perform the larger sacrifice and should perform the undertaken)" (TMB IX.4.16; cp. JB I.344). If it is desired that the adhvaryu of the other side should die, the adhvaryu is told to offer with the ṛgvesses addressed to Prajāpati in the morning pressing. If it is desired that the hotṛ of others should die, the hotṛ is told to offer with the ṛgverses addressed to Prajāpati in the midday pressing. If it is desired that the udgātṛ of other side should die, the udgātṛ ~~to be~~ is told to offer with the ṛgverses addressed to Prajāpati in the third pressing (JB I.343). Thus, there are these abhicāra-rites in connection with the sāmsava at a soma-sacrifice.

In the soma-sacrifice like Agniṣṭoma there are other abhicāra-rites also. Thus, if one wants to do abhicāra,

the sprinkling¹ water which is left, one should pour it outside the altar with the words, "This burning water I dismiss from the sacrifice against so and so." (Here the name of the enemy is to be pronounced). One then smites him with that sorrow and sorrowing he goes to the yonder world (ŚB III 5.2.8). If abhicāra is meant to be done the udgātṛ should put down the pressing stones with their faces averted and then shove (the droṇakalāśas) away with (the formula): "Here ! shove away (separate) from the clan so and so, the member of the Gotra so and so, the son of the mother so and so" he thereby shoves him as ^{under} (separates him) from the clan, from the food (TMB VI.6.2). In connection with the abhicāra in drawing the soma²graha ŚB 6.5.5 says " For whatever deity one draws this graha, that deity, being seized by this graha, fulfils that wish of his for which he draws it. He approaches either the rising or the setting sun, thinking, "thou art the seizer, seize thou N.N. by such and such a disease ! May N.N. not obtain such and such" or with "May such and such a wish not be fulfilled to him;" and assuredly that wish is not fulfilled to him for whom he thus approaches (the sun). In the course of the Aśvamedha when the blood of the horse is offered to the svistakṛts the rival becomes overcome (ŚB XIII 3.4.2).

Special sacrifices of Abhicāra nature :

There are some special sacrifices for the purpose of abhicāra. The sacrifice named Śaunaka is a modified form of Darśapūrṇamāsa meant for the abhicāra. One has to begin on the full moon night. It is a sacrifice for one desiring to lay low (his enemies) (KB IV.7).¹⁰ Aruṇa Aupaveśi offered Agnihotra as an abhicāra-rite. He said, "I kill my enemies with thunderbolt in the morning and in the evening. Therefore my enemies are inferior to me." One should ladle four times; offer twice; and the firewood is the seventh. The Śākvara metre has seven feet, and the thunderbolt is connected with the Śakvarī. Thus when one offers Agnihotra one kills one's enemy with the thunderbolt (TS II.1.5.11.). The sacrifice Upahavya can be performed by one who wants to practise exorcism (JB II.150). The sacrifice named Manustoma can catch the enemy and remove him from this world to that (JB II.169). The two sāmāgya sacrifices are described as being thunderbolt and one kills with this thunderbolt one's enemy when one performs this sacrifice (JB II.310)

Of particular interest are the sacrifices of the abhicāra nature which can be found described by ṢaḍB.

10 For details cf. Keith, RBT, p. 367

Śyena is the foremost among them. With this sacrifice he should sacrifice who wants to perform the incantation. The falcon (Śyena) is the swiftest of the birds. Just as the falcon catches the other birds, in just the same manner the sacrificer catches his rival by this rite. In this sacrifice each of the three Pavamāna lauds is three-fold; for the three fold stoma is the swiftest of the stomas. This helps for defeating the enemy. Similarly all the other details of the Śyena sacrifice are of such a nature that they would be helpful for defeating the enemy. The havirdhānavehicles are two wheeled chariots; therefore he throws the two wheeled chariot which is identical with the thunderbolt at his rival. The Vajrasāman is used and that is also the thunderbolt. If the sacrificer desires, "May the rival be defeated, he should take the Br̥hat for the pr̥ṣṭha-laud and the Rathantara for the Brahmasāman. The Br̥hat is the ruling power and the Rathantara is the cattle. With ruling power he kills the cattle. If the sacrificer desires, "May the rival go long way, may he have no firm support," then he should apply in the midday Pavamāna-laud the Rathantara, make the Br̥hat the first pr̥ṣṭhalaud and apply the plava for the Brahmasāman. By both Br̥hat and Rathantara he removes the rival from both these worlds i.e. the heaven and the earth and by the Plava he causes him to float away and the rival then goes long and has no support. The

sacrificial post is made of the tailvaka or bādhaka wood and it must have a point like a sword. The planks for pressing the soma-juice are made from the central planks of the wheels. The sacrificial animals dedicated to Agni should be red. The sacrificial grass consists of reeds (śara) for hurting (śīrtyai) the rival. The fuel consists of vibhītaka wood for cleaving the rival. The priests discharge their sacred functions wearing red turbans, red clothes and having their brahmanic threads round their necks for the sake of destroying the rival. In each group of cows (which are detailed by the commentator as nine one-eyed, nine lame, nine paralysed and nine with defective horns etc.) there are nine cows. These are to be given to the priests as dakṣiṇas (ṢadB III.8.1.ff).

Similar is the sacrifice named Iṣu (arrow) by means of which also the sacrificer can hurt his enemy. In this sacrifice the Viṣṭuti used is called Iṣu. Death, by an arrow strikes the rival prematurely when he uses the Viṣṭuti named Iṣu. There is the Vaśatṭkārāṇidhana. Then, there is the Saptaha-sāman (the sāman which kills seven). By using this upto seven men (descendants) there is no support for him against whom an incantation is made by means of this sacrifice. The remaining details are like those of Śyena (ṢadB III.9.1.ff)

The next sacrifice is named as Saṁdaṁśa (Tongs) with the similar purpose against enemy. As with a pair of tongs a blacksmith takes hold of a thing which is very difficult to take hold of, so also the sacrificer takes hold of the enemy. The sacrifice is similar to the pair of tongs because there are two chants each time. The group of stomas amounts to the Trivṛtstoma. The number of stotraverses amounts to the Br̥hatīmetre. The Trivṛtstoma is the thunderbolt; the Br̥hatīmetre is cattle, with the thunderbolt he strikes his rival's cattle. There is the Vaiyaśva-sāman. By this sāman he makes the rival horseless. The finale is pariṣṭubdheda by means of which the rival is cut. At the beginning of the midday and Ārbhava-pavamāna-lauds are the two Vārṣāhara-sāmans; the Kāśīta and Aupagavasāmans and the Nānadasāmans. The Udgātr̥s compose injurious sāmans for destroying the rival. The sacrifice is performed without the saptadaśastoma. The remaining details are the same as those of the Śyēba (ṢaḍB III 10.1 ff).

Next comes the Vajra i.e. "Thunderbolt" sacrifice. There are fifteen lauds in this sacrifice. Fifteen is the thunderbolt and by it the rival is destroyed. The Vajra sacrifice is an Ukthya (which has fifteen lauds) combined with a Ṣoḍaśin. The Ukthyas are cattle, the Ṣoḍaśin is the thunderbolt. With the thunderbolt a thunderbolt is hurled at his rival and the rival is destroyed. This

sacrifice has then the Mahānāmnī verses and sixteen sāmāns. The Mahānāmnī verses as well as the Ṣoḍaśin are identical with the thunderbolt and that is hurled at the enemy. The remaining is the same as in the Saṃdamśa sacrifice. (ṢaḍB III.II.ff).

Defensive rites :

We have seen how some abhicāra rites are included in the big sacrifices like Agniṣṭoma and we also have seen how the Brāhmanatexts have described some special sacrifices meant for the abhicāra which will trouble the enemy. There are some rites of the abhicāra which will trouble the enemy. There are some rites of the abhicāra nature which are meant for defending oneself from the abhicāra practised by others or for resisting it. The offerings for Bhūtas in the Rājasūya are useful to remove death, and then it is said that because these offerings are offered, there is no possibility of the abhicāra of anybody else that will have any effect upon the performer of the Rājasūya with these offerings (TB I.7.7.5). The fourth daśarātra namely Devapura is to be performed for him against whom abhicāra is being done.¹¹ When the sacrifice is performed, the sacrificer enters the stronghold of the Gods. Then

11 Cf. Hillebrandt, Rituallitteratur, p. 167.

no one can lay him low (TMB XXII.17.3) Sometimes not only self-defence is desired, but a counter-charm is also meant to be done. The Apāmārgahoma is done in the Rājasūya. By means of this ceremony a counter-charm can be performed. In whatever direction there is his evil-wisher, looking back to that direction he offers. For the Apāmārga is of a backward effect. whosoever does anything to him there, him indeed he pitches backward. Here the name of the enemy is to be mentioned and the desire that the enemy should be slain is to be made (ŚB V.2.4.20). One can protect oneself from the abhicāra of others by merely knowing the mystic significance. Thus the caturhotr-mantras are identical with the Brahman and from out of these the sacrifice has been created. He who knows this, against him no abhicāra can be successful (TB III.12.5.1). Thus there is some provision for protecting oneself from the black magic done by others.

Magical rites used for good result :

Though in most of the cases the magical rites are directed against the hated person or the enemy and ruin of such person is expected to happen, there are some examples where some good results is expected out of those magical rites. Thus, the Traidhātavī offering which is performed in the course of the Rājasūya can be performed without

abhicāra; but it can also be performed as an abhicāra against the enemy. Then it is added that one may also use this offering for the purpose of healing. ŚB gives the explanation how this offering can be useful for healing. Whomsoever one would heal by a single ṛc, by a single yajus, by a single sāman him one would render free from disease; how much more so by the tripple veda ! (ŚB V.5.5.14-15). The connection of this offering with the three vedas is shown thus :- The cake to be offered to Indra and Viṣṇu is prepared of both rice and barley. First a ball of rice is put on the fire. That is a symbol of the yajus-formulas. Then a ball of barley is put. That is a symbol of ṛc-verses. Then one of rice and it is a symbol of sāmans. Thus the offering becomes the form of three vedas (ŚB V. 5.5.9) and becomes useful for healing. Here an abhicāra rite meant for destroying the enemy is said to be useful for healing also. We have mentioned above the abhicāra in connection with the pressing stones. If the udgātṛ wants to do some favour upon the sacrificer he should put down the pressing stones with their "faces" towards each other and then shove the droṇakalāśa on them with the words, "Here I put on the clan so and so, on food thus and thus, so and so, the member of the Gotra so and so, the son of (mother) so and so !" He thereby puts him over the clan and on food (TMB VI.6.3). Here also instead of abhicāra for destroying the enemy, favour upon the sacrificer is being done.

Some peculiarities of the abhicāra-rites :

a) recitation, singing etc.:

In the achicāra-rites particular ways of recitations of particular words¹² or singing of the sāmans¹³ have got an important place. Thus, while reciting the ājya śāstra the recitation is made in the following way :- "Forward to your Agni" are Anuṣṭubh (verses). He separates the first two padas, verily thus he makes the thunderbolt broader below; he unites the last two padas; at the beginning a thunderbolt is narrow, and so of a club and of an axe; verily thus he hurts the thunderbolt at the enemy who hates him, as a weapon to lay low whom he has to lay low (AB II. 35). If the hotṛ desires of a man "Let him be without an abode," he should use for him as offering verse a Gāyatrī, a Triṣṭubh or some other metre, not a Virāj and utter the vaṣat call in the recitation of Niṣkevalya śāstra (AB III. 22). At the time of reciting the Mantras for the establishment of fires, one may recite yās te agne ghorās tanuvah instead of yās te agne śivās tanuvah. Then one defeats his

12 On the magical power of the words cf. G.V der Leeuw, REM p. 403 ff; 422 ff; Keith, RPV, p. 393.

13 On the magical power of the sāmans in general see Sten Konnow, Das Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa, p. 23.

enemy by means of the awful bodies of Agni (TB I 1.8.6).

Many sāmāns are connected with the abhicāra. Thus, the Adārasṛt sāmān is identified with the victory and called "Killing the enemies (bhrātrvyaha)" (JB III.248). The yajñāyajñīya sāmān is also described in the same manner (JB III.275). The sāmān named Jamadagneḥ saptaha is to be used by one who is performing abhicāra or one who has enemies (JB I.152). The udgātr can use the Viṣṭuti named Bhastrā in the soma sacrifice of one whom he hates. Just as a blacksmith would blow away with a pair of bellows, whose mouth is directed downward, so he blows away the cattle of the sacrificer. It is the "stepping away" Viṣṭuti, by means of it the cattle of the sacrificer steps away (TMB II.13.2). The Viṣṭuti which in both viz. in the first and in the last rounds has only one single verse in the middle is to be used by one against whom one wants to practise abhicāra (TMB II.10.5). In the Viṣṭuti of the Ekaviṃśastoma, he makes the him-sound for three stotriyā stanzas, he then sings (all three of) them in natural order. He makes the him-sound for nine stotriyā-stanzas. Then he sings each of them three times. Thus he should praise when performing an abhicāra-rite. The Trivṛtstoma is the thunderbolt; the Triṇavastoma is a thunderbolt. By performing with the Trivṛt and Triṇavastomas the Ekaviṃśastoma

he fixes on the thunderbolt completely. In this way the thunderbolt is efficient as it were, as it is relatively thin at the back-end and relatively thick at the striking-end. Therefore, he who praises with this Viṣṭuti, slays evil viz. his rival and becomes better himself (ŚadB III 5.1.ff).

b) thinking of the enemy :

In the abhicāra-rites thinking of the enemy is often mentioned. At the time of being about to beat the soma with the pressing stone one thinks in his mind of him whom one hates; "Herewith I strike N.H. not thee (O soma) !" (ŚB III 9.4.17). At the time of uttering the vaṣaṭcall one thinks of him whom one hates (AB III.6; GB II 3.2). At the time of slinging the sword (sphya) one should think of him whom one hates. One then bestows upon him sorrow (TB III.2.9.15).

c) pronouncing the name of the enemy :

In the abhicāra-rites sometimes the name of the enemy is told to be mentioned. The name is identical with the person himself to whom it belongs.¹⁴ Whatever is done

14 cf. on the importance and function of name in magic, *cf.*

by uttering any particular name is hoped to be done in connection with that person. Thus ŚB IV.6.5.1 ff it is mentioned that all the beings are held by Sūrya, Vāc, Name and Anna. Here the reference to the Name is worth noting. "Everything here is held by the name (nāmnā hidaṁ sarvaṁ grhītam." ŚB (IV.6.5.3). Thus the Brāhmanatexts recognise the power of the name.

When the grassbush is flinged then the name of the enemy is mentioned and it is expressed that he should not be released from fetters (ŚB I.2.4.16). At the time of flinging of the wooden sword (sphya) it is said according to ŚB I.2.3.5.22, "I fling thee as a thunderbolt for N.N." At the time of offering the Śukrāmanthin graha, if exorcism is desired to be practised, some spray of soma which is adhering to the garment with "O divine plant, let that be true wherefore I pray thee. Let N.N. be struck down by destruction falling from above, crash." Then nothing hostile

Hillebrandt, Rituallitteratur, p. 170; Henry, La magie dans l'Inde antique, p. 31, 82, 168, etc. Oldenberg Weltanschauung, p. 103; Keith RPV p. 381; Frazer, Golden bough, III (1927), p. 318ff; G.v.der Leeuw, REM p. 147, Heiler, Erscheinungsformen und Wesender. Religion, p. 275.

remains (ŚB IV 1.1.26) The consecrated person is supposed to be identical with Agni. He has not to utter the name of any one. For, in that case, he would burn that person. If, however, he hates anyone, then he may mumble the name of that person. Then he burns him (KB VII.3). Thus, we find how the pronouncing of the name of the enemy has got importance in the abhicāra-rites.

Sometimes not only the name, but the name of the family and of the mother also are to be uttered. An abhicāra can be performed by the udgātr with the pressing-stones as we have quoted above (TIB VI.6.2). There the name of the enemy along with his gotra and his mother's name is to be mentioned.

It is, however, also said that the utterance of the name of the person hated is not necessary. Whilst standing at the thigh of the vedi with the face towards the east, the sacrificer throws a stone southwards with the words "Let thy pain enter N.N. !" and here the name is to be uttered. But further this view is rejected and it is said "He has been already indicated whom he who knows that this hates" Therefore, it is not necessary to utter the name (ŚB IX.1.2.12). Similarly at the end of the Śatarudriya it is said, "Whomsoever we hate and whosoever hates us we cast him into their jaws" (VS XVI.66). Thus by uttering

this the enemies are cast in the jaws. It is further said that the name of the hated person may be uttered here. But this view of uttering the name is further rejected by saying that the enemy has been already indifated of himself whom he knows that this one hates (ŚB IX.1.1.39).

d) optional nature of the abhicāra :

The abhicāra-rites show how the popular beliefs and atharvanic practices have entered in the ritual of the classes. The brāhmaṇa-texts elaborate and explain the abhicārarites with the same tone in which they handle other rites. It is, however, noteworthy that the Brāhmaṇa-texts describe the abhicāra-rites and not prescribe them. They introduce the abhicāra rites generally with the words like yadi abhicaret etc. meaning "if one wants to perform incantation" etc. (e.g. ŚB I 2.4.16; 5.22). Thus, if the abhicāra is intended, then the ritual that follows is to be performed, but the Brāhmaṇa-texts have not said that abhicāra itself should be performed. ~~The brāhmaṇa-texts have not said that abhicāra itself should be performed.~~ The Brāhmaṇa-texts do not ask us to perform the abhicāra, but only sanction and allow it or describe the manner in which it can be done. The later law-books (e.g. Manusmṛti XI.63) ridicule

the abhicāra but the Brāhmaṇa-texts appear to consider it legitimate.¹⁵

Conclusion :

The Brāhmaṇa-texts describe, if not prescribe the abhicāra rites which are of the nature of exorcism against enemy in general and can be performed in the procedure of a particular sacrifice or as separate sacrifices. Abhicāra-rites can sometimes be performed for one's own benefit or for protecting oneself from other's abhicāra. These rites show how Atharvāṇic practices and the religion of masses in general seem to have found place in the Śrauta ritual with the śrauta appearance.

15 Oldenberg, Weltanschauung, p. 152 f.n.4. Manusmṛti XI.33, however, allows a brāhmaṇa to use the Atharvāṅgiras-formulas for killing the enemies (Śrutīra-tharvāṅgirasīḥ kuryād ityayicārayan / vāk śāstram vai brāhmaṇasya tena hanyād arin dvijah).

(K) Agni-cayana (Fire building ceremony)Introduction:

In the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa the Agnicayana (Fire-building ceremony) is dealt with in the kāṇḍas VI to X and thus more than one third of the kāṇḍa-numbers is attributed to Agni-cayana. The Agni-cayana means building of the fire altar which is an optional ancillary rite in the soma-sacrifice. Thus, it will appear curious that an ancillary rite might have been so important to occupy a big part of the ŚB for its description and explanation. The reason of this is, as we shall see, that the dealing with the Agni-cayana consists of both the "ritualism" and "spiritualism" in the Brāhmaṇa texts. This ceremony contains a large number of activities and the dealing with this ceremony is accompanied by philosophical speculations of the Brāhmaṇa-texts. Let us see both the description of the Agnicayana and the philosophical speculations in connection with it.

Description of the Agnicayana ¹

In the beginning of the Agnicayana there is an animal sacrifice in which either a man, a horse, a bull,

1 For the description of the Agnicayana see, Weber Indische studien, XIII, p. 217 ff; Hillebrandt, Ritualliteratur p. 161 ff; Keith, RPV p. 354 f.

a ram and a he-goat are offered (ŚB VI.2.1.15ff) or a he-goat to Prajāpati (ŚB VI.2.2.1ff) and a he goat to Vayu Niyutvat (ŚB VI.2.2.6ff) are offered. This animal sacrifice takes place on the full-moon day of Phālguna (ŚB VI.2.2.17ff). On the eighth day (after the fullmoon) the materials for Ukhā (Fire-pan) are to be collected (ŚB VI.2.2.23ff) and on the New-moon day one becomes consecrated. There are then the libations to Savitr (ŚB VI.3.3.1ff).

a) Ukhā :

An abhri (spade) made of bamboo, spotted one and a span-long is to be taken (ŚB VI.3.1.30ff). The adhvaryu leads the horse, the ass and the he goat towards the east. The priests and the sacrificer go to the lump of clay (ŚB ~~VI~~ VI.3.3.1). The adhvaryu makes an offering upon the clay (ŚB VI.3.3.15) and on the horse's footprint (ŚB ^{VI} 3.3.22). He then digs (ŚB VI.3.3.26⁴.1ff). He deposits the clay on the black antelope-skin, on the lotus leaf which is put on the black antelope-skin (ŚB VI.4.1.6ff). Having taken up together the black antelope skin and the lotus leaf, he ties the lump of clay (ŚB VI.4.1.6ff). He calls the animals, holds the clay over the animals one by one and returns along with all the priests and the sacrificer (ŚB VI.4.4.1ff). After the clay has been taken

down (ŚB VI.4.4.18) water is poured in it (ŚB VI.5.1.2) and the goat's hair (ŚB VI.5.1.4) and gravel, stone and iron rust (ŚB VI.5.1.6) are mixed in it. The clay is kneaded (ŚB VI.5.1.6ff) and the fire-pan (ukhā) is made (ŚB VI.5.2.1ff). Of that same clay the queen forms the first brick named Aṣadhā (ŚB VI.5.3.1ff). The sacrificer then makes the Viśvajyotis bricks. The adhvaryu fumigates the fire-pan (ŚB VI.5.3.8ff). Afterwards goat's milk is poured into it (ŚB VI.5.4.15f).

There are then the oblations connected with the dīkṣā ceremony. Thus, there is a sacrificial cake on eleven potsherds and a pap to Aditya (ŚB VI.6.1.1ff) and then the Audgrabhaṇa offerings (ŚB VI.6.1.12ff).

The adhvaryu puts the fire-pan on the fire (ŚB VI.6.2.1) and when the flame mounts upto it he puts a kindling-stick of krimuka-wood on the pan (ŚB VI.6.2.10ff), then a kindling stick of Vikāṅkata-wood (ŚB VI.6.3.1), then one of Udumbara-wood (ŚB VI.6.3.2), one which is not cut by an axe (ŚB VI.6.3.5), one that has lain on the ground (ŚB VI.6.3.6) and the remaining sticks of Palāśa-wood (ŚB VI.6.3.7) are used.

The sacrificer having then stridden the Viśṇu-strides and reverentially stood by (the fire) with the

Vātsapra (hymn) after the sun has set, throws the ashes (from the fire-pan); then puts a kindling stick (ŚB VI.6.4.1). In the morning, after the sun has risen he throws out ashes and puts a kindling stick (ŚB VI.6.4.2). When the fast milk is given to him, he puts a kindling stick after dipping it into the fast-milk (ŚB VI.6.4.4ff).

The sacrificer hangs a gold-plate round his neck and wears it (ŚB VI.7.1.1ff) over the navel (ŚB VI.7.1.8ff). The sacrificer carries the fire pan on a seat of udumbara-wood (ŚB VI.7.1.12 ff); it is carried in a netting (Śikya) (ŚB VI.7.1.16). Afterwards, he strides the Viṣṇu-strides (ŚB VI.7.2.10) stands by the fire with the Vātsapra hymn (ŚB VI.7.4.1ff).

b) Gārhapatya-agni-cayana :

The adhvaryu sweeps the site of the Gārhapatya-fire with a Palāśa-branch (ŚB VII.1.1.1ff). He then scatters saline soil (ŚB VII.1.1.6ff), sand (ŚB VII.1.1.9ff) and encloses it with enclosing stones (ŚB VII.1.12 ff). Then he builds it (ŚB VII.1.1.17ff) and pours the fire in the Gārhapatya-hearth (ŚB VII.1.1.38ff).

c) Nairṛtīṣṭakās :

Then the Nairṛtīṣṭakās are brought (ŚB VII.2.1.1ff). They are to be placed in the South western direction (ŚB VII.2.1.8). Farther side of these bricks, the seat, the netting the sling of the gold plate and the two pads are to be thrown down (ŚB VII.2.1.15). A water jar is carried on the space between the sacrificer and the bricks (ŚB VII.2.1.17). Afterwards a prayer is to be made to the Gārhapatya-fire (ŚB VII.2.1.18ff).

d) Āhavanīya-altar :

After the prayanīyā offering is performed, grass bush (stambayajus) is removed (ŚB VII.2.2.1). Then ploughing of the altar-site is done (ŚB VII.2.2.2ff). The adhvaryu places a bunch of darbha-grass on the altar site (ŚB VII.2.3.1ff) and offers thereon (ŚB VII.2.3.4ff). He then pours out jarfuls of water (ŚB VII.2.4.1ff) and sows all kinds of herb (seed) (ŚB VII.2.4.13ff).

Before beginning to build the āhavanīya the rites such as buying of soma and its reception are performed (ŚB VII.3.1.1.1ff) .

He puts the Logeṣṭakās (clod-bricks) (ŚB VII.3.1.13ff). The first layer is to be appeased on the (red ox)

skin (ŚB VII.3.2.1ff). A white horse is led in front of the first layer and while the horse goes westwards, it is made smell that layer (ŚB VII.3.2.10ff). That horse is led at the evening also (ŚB VII.3.2.18). The next bricks are in the form of a lotus leaf (ŚB VII.4.1.7ff), a gold plate (ŚB VII.4.1.10ff) and a golden man (ŚB VII.4.1.15). Then the Citrasāman is to be sung (ŚB VII.4.1.22ff). The sacrificer stands by the gold man worshipping him with the Sarpanāma (formulas) (ŚB VII.4.1.25ff) and offers on the goldman with ghee (ŚB VII.4.1.32ff). Then the two offering spoons are laid down one of Kārṣmarya wood and the other of Udumbara-wood (ŚB VII.4.1.36ff). This is followed by laying down of the Svayam-ātrṇṇā (naturally perforated) brick (ŚB VII.4.2.1ff), Dūrva-brick (ŚB VII.4.2.10ff), Dviyajus-brick (ŚB VII.4.2.16ff), two Retaḥsic (seed shedding) bricks (ŚB VII.4.2.22ff). Viśvajyotis brick (ŚB VII.4.2.25ff) two Rtavyā bricks (ŚB VII.4.2.29ff), Aśāḥā brick (ŚB VII.4.2.33ff), a tortoise as a brick (ŚB VII.5.1.1.1ff), Mortar and pestle (ŚB VII.5.1.12ff) and the Ukhā brick (ŚB VII.5.1.26ff). An offering with butter on the Ukhā, it is to be made (ŚB VII.5.1.32ff). Then the heads of the five victims (man, horse, ram, bull and he-goat) (ŚB VII.5.2.1ff) are laid down and upon them also an offering is made (ŚB VII.5.2.23ff). Then the Apasyā-bricks (ŚB VII.5.2.40ff) the Chandasyā bricks (ŚB VII.5.2.42ff), fifty Prāṇabhṛt-bricks

(ŚB VIII.1.1.1.ff), and the Lokamprṇā-bricks (ŚB VIII.1.4.10)² are laid down and thus the first layer becomes complete.

In the second layer there are the Āśvinī Bricks (ŚB VIII.2.1.1ff), Ṛtavyā-bricks (ŚB VIII.2.1.16ff), Vaiśvadeva-bricks (ŚB VIII.2.2.1ff), Prāṇabhṛt-bricks (ŚB VIII.2.3.1ff), Apasyā-bricks (ŚB VIII.2.3.4ff), Chandasyā bricks (ŚB VIII.2.3.7ff) and the Lokamprṇā-bricks (ŚB VIII.2.4.20).

The third layer consists of the Svayammtrṇā-bricks (ŚB VIII.3.1.7ff), Diśyā-bricks (ŚB VIII.3.2.5ff), Viśvajyotis-bricks (ŚB VIII.3.2.1ff), Ṛtavā-bricks (ŚB VIII.3.2.5ff), Prāṇabhṛt-bricks (ŚB VIII.3.2.14), Chandasyā-bricks (ŚB VIII.3.3.1ff), Vālahilya-bricks (ŚB VIII.3.4.1ff) and the Lokamprṇā-bricks (ŚB VIII.3.4.19).

In the fourth layer, one has to lay down the Stoma-bricks (ŚB VIII.4.1.1.ff) Sprt-bricks (ŚB VIII.4.2.1ff), Ṛtavyā-bricks (ŚB VIII.4.2.14ff), Sṛṣṭi-bricks (ŚB VIII.4.3.1ff) and the Lokamprṇā-bricks (ŚB VIII.4.2.12).

The fifth layer becomes complete by means of the Asapatheṣṭakās (ŚB VIII.5.1.1.ff), Chandasyā-bricks (ŚB VIII.5.2.1ff), Stomabhāga bricks (ŚB VIII.5.3.1ff), Nākasad-bricks (ŚB VIII.6.1.1ff) Pañcacūḍā-bricks (ŚB VIII.6.1.11ff) Chandasyā-bricks (ŚB VIII.6.2.1 ff), Gārhapatya (ŚB VIII.6.3.1 ff), Punaściti-bricks (ŚB VIII.6.3.8 ff), Ṛtavya-

² For the Lokamprṇā-bricks cf. Gonda, Loka, p.26ff.

bricks (ŚB VIII.7.1.1 ff), Visvvyotis-bricks (ŚB VIII.7.1.15ff) Lokamṛṇā -bricks (ŚB VIII.7.2.1 ff), Vikarṇī-bricks (ŚB VIII.7.3.10) and the Svayamātrṇā-bricks (ŚB VIII.7.3.13 ff). On the Lokamṛṇā bricks sāmāns are to be sung (ŚB VIII.7.4.1 ff). The sacrificer has to bestrew the fire altar with chips of gold (ŚB VIII.7.4.7 ff).

d) Śatarudriya and other rites :

Then the Śatarudriya offering is to be performed (ŚB IX.1.1.1ff). Then the fire-altar is sprinkled (ŚB IX.1.2.1 ff). From a stone this sprinkling is made and then the stone after being put in the water pitcher is to be thrown in the south-western direction (ŚB IX.1.2.4 ff). The bricks, then are metaphorically made milch-cows (ŚB IX.1.2.13 ff). A frog, a lotus-flower, and a bamboo shoot are then to be drawn across the central part of the altar (ŚB IX.1.2.20ff). The Adhvaryu sings sāmāns round the altar and makes it complete (ŚB IX.1.2.32 ff).

e) Mounting upon the altar and other rites -

On the upavasatha-day the sacrificer mounts upon the altar (ŚB IX.2.1.2 ff), makes libations on the Svayamātrṇā-bricks (ŚB IX.2.1.3 ff) and sprinkles the altar (ŚB IX.2.1.11 ff). After having descended from it he

proceeds with the Pravargya and Upasad (ŚB IX.2.1.17 ff). Afterwards oblations are made on the Gārhapatya-fire and then a burning piece is taken from it (ŚB IX.2.2.1 ff). It is placed on the Āgnīdhra-range (ŚB IX.2.3.15) and set up (ŚB IX.2.3.17ff). Then an offering is made upon it (ŚB IX.2.3.30ff). After the oblations a full (spoon) oblation is made (ŚB IX.2.3.43 ff).. Then there are the Vaiśvānara-homa (ŚB IX.3.1.1.1ff), Māruta-Homa (ŚB IX.3.1.7 ff), Vasordhārā homa (ŚB IX.3.2.1 ff), Ardhendra-libations (ŚB IX 3.2.9), libations connected with Grahas (ŚB IX.3.2.10), Yajña-Kratus (ŚB IX.3.3.1), Uneven stomas (ŚB IX.3.3.2), Even stomas (ŚB IX.3.3.4), Vayas (ŚB IX.3.3.7), Libations with uttering the names (ŚB IX 3.3.8 ff), the Kalpā libations (ŚB IX.3.3.12 ff), Vājaprasaviya-libations (ŚB IX.3.4.1 ff) and Partha-libations (ŚB IX.3.4.6 ff). The sacrificer is then consecrated (ŚB IX.3.4.10 ff) and this is followed by further offerings viz. the Rāṣṭrabhṛddhoma (ŚB IX.4.1.1 ff), Offerings to the Gandharvas and Apsaras (ŚB IX.4.1.4ff), an offering on the head of the chariot (ŚB IX.4.1.13 ff), the Vātahoma (ŚB IX.4.2.1 ff), Ruṇmatīhoma (ŚB IX.4.2.12 ff) Vāruṇīhoma (ŚB IX.4.2.15 ff), Santatīhoma (ŚB IX.4.2.18 ff) and any additional offering for obtainment of any desire (ŚB IX.4.2.27 ff).

f) dhisnya-firehearths -

Then the Disnya-firehearths are built up (ŚB IX.4.3.1)

We have thus mentioned on the basis of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa some principal rites in the Agnicayana. Let us see now what the Brāhmaṇa says in general about the Agnicayana.

Agnicayana as representing the worlds -

The fire building (Agnicayana) represents all the worlds. Thus, it is said, "This firealtar is these worlds (ime vai lokā esōgniḥ) (ŚB VII.3.1.1.1.13; IX.1.2.14; 2.1.20; 21) Elsewhere the fire-altar is identified with "this" world only. "This built fire altar is doubtless, this (terrestrial) world (ayam vāva loka esōgniś citah)" (ŚB X.1.2.2). ŚB X.5.4.1 ff, we get details of the identification of the built fire altar with the worlds. 'Verily, this built Fire-altar is this (terrestrial) world - the waters are its enclosing stones; the men its yajusmatī-bricks, the cattle its sūdadohas; the plants and trees its earth-fillings (purīṣa) (between the layers of the bricks), its oblations and fire-logs; Agni (the terrestrial fire) its Lokamprṇā (Space-filling brick) ... But indeed this fire-altar is also the air- the junction of heaven and earth (the horizon) is its (circle of) enclosing-stones; for it is

beyond the air that heaven and earth meet, and that (junction) is the (circle of) enclosing stones. The birds are its Yajusmatī-bricks, the rain its sūdadohas, the rays of light its earth-fillings, the oblations and fire-logs; Vāyu (the wind) is its space filler; thus this comes to make up the whole Agni.... But indeed, that fire-altar also is the sky: - the (heavenly) waters are its enclosing-stones; for even as a case here is closed up so are these worlds (enclosed) within the waters; and the waters beyond these worlds are the enclosing stones; the gods are the Yajusmatī bricks; what food there is - in that world is its sūdadohas; the Nakṣatras are the earth-fillings, the oblations and the fire-logs and Āditya is the space filler... (ŚB X.5.4.1 ff). Further the fire altar is also shown to be identical with the Sun, Nakṣatras, metres, Year, body and finally all beings, all the Gods (ŚB X.5.4.4 ff). Elsewhere the Gārhapatya-fire is identified with this (terrestrial world) (ŚB VIII.3.1.8) and human world (manusya-loka) (ŚB VII.3.1.10) The Āhavanīya-fire is also identified with the heavenly world (ŚB VII.3.1.9) and the world of Gods (devaloka) (ŚB VII.3.1.10). Thus the fire altar represents the worlds, universe³ and is microcosm.

3 Cf. Keith, RPV, p.355; Mus, BEFEO, 33, 1934, p. 449

Eliade, Patterns, p. 372.

Fire-building as reconstructing Prajāpati -

Another theory found in connection with the Fire-building, is that the fire-building is reconstructing Prajāpati. The Fire-altar is often identified with Prajāpati (ŚB VI.5.3.7.9; VII. 2.4.30; 3.1.42; VIII.2.1.18; X.4.1.12). It is maintained elsewhere that one reconstructs Prajāpati while building the Fire-altar. Prajāpati created the beings and then became relaxed; the vital air went out from within; then his vigour went out of him; and then he fell down; from him, thus fallen, food flowed forth; then there was no firm foundation whatever here. The Gods desired to restore Prajāpati and made Agni as the foundation to restore Prajāpati... The Gods heated Prajāpati in the fire. When fire rose over him thus heated, that same vital air which had gone out from within him came back to him and they put it into him; and the vigour which had gone out of him they put into him; and the food which had flowed from him they put into him... The Prajāpati who became relaxed is this same Agni who is now being built up ...

(ŚB VII.1.2.1 ff). ŚB VII 3.1.16 we read, "when Prajāpati was disjoined, his vital sap flowed over all the regions, and when the Gods restored him they, by means of the clod-bricks, put into him that vital sap". In connection with the scattering of the sand it is said, "That Agni (Fire-altar) is Prajāpati; and Prajāpati is the whole Brahman.

and that part of it which has not been lost is this fire-altar which is now being built; thus when he scatters sand he restores to him that lost part of the Brahman. That (sand which) he scatters is unnumbered, unlimited; for, who knows how great is that lost part of the Brahman ? And verily he who knowing this scatters sand, restores the whole, complete Prajāpati" (ŚB VII.3.1.42). For the idea of building the fire-altar as restoring or reconstructing Prajāpati see also ŚB VII.4.1.16; 2.4; 5.2.45; VIII. 2.2.6; IX.4.1.3; X.1.1.3; 3.5 etc.)

The Fire-altar as the Puruṣa and Prajāpati -

The fire-altar has been identified with the Puruṣa (ŚB X.4.1.6; JB I.45). The fire-altar is also identified with the Puruṣa-Prajāpati (ŚB VI.1.1.5).

The Fire-altar as the year (samvatsara).

ŚB VI.3.1.25 identified the Fire-altar with the year. There are five layers in the fire-altar; there are five seasons in the year; the fire altar is identical with the year." Elsewhere, it is said, "With three (animals) he searches - threefold is Agni. As great as Agni is, as is his measure, with so much he thus searches for him. By three (formulas) he first addresses (the beast) that makes six - six seasons are a year and the year is Agni...

(ŚB VI.3.2.10). ŚB VI.6.1.20 identifies Agni-Vaiśvānara with the year and gives the reason for the identification viz. the year has performed the rite of fire-building first (saṁvatsaro vā etadagre karmākarot) ŚB VIII.2.2.8 gives another reason of the identification viz. Prajāpati, having entered into union with the year produced the beings (saṁvatsarena vai sayug bhūtvā prājanayat).

Concluding remarks -

Thus we find that the Agnicayana gives ample scope for philosophical speculations⁴. The Brāhmanatexts develop their views about the cosmology, Prajāpati, Saṁvatsara (year) etc. In connection with the Agnicayāna, these views may not be said to be precise and systematic. But in these are the germs of the Upaniṣadic "Spiritualism" and from that point of view they are important.

4 Cf. Gonda, Religionen Indiens, I, p. 191.

(c) Conclusion of the study of
sacrifices and ancillary rites

We first saw the ways of classification of the sacrifices according to the Brāhmaṇa-texts and we also took into consideration the names of the sacrifices. Then we studied the important ancillary rites. As regards the interpretation of the sacrificial rites we can in general say that for understanding them in the sense in which they were understood by the vedic persons the best help can be obtained from the vedic ritual texts themselves. The study of the ancillary rites throws light upon some of the salient features of the sacrifice in general. The sacrifice as we have mentioned elsewhere is the generation-process par excellence. This idea of generation is present in the ideas of the vedic dīkṣā, Pravargya, Yūpa and animal-sacrifice. The idea of the sacrifice as a redemption is found in the animal sacrifice. The importance of correct performance and carefulness is known in the study of the Prāyaścittis. The study of the dakṣiṇās shows how the sacrifice which is supposed to be killed while being performed is envigorated again by means of the dakṣiṇās. The study of the vedī and that of Agnicayana throw some light upon the ideas of the microcosm and the macrocosm in connection with the theory of sacrifice. The activities done in the microcosm have their parallel reactions in the macrocosm and this explains how the results

of the sacrifice become obtained. The Brāhmaṇa-texts do not connect one significance with one rite. There is always multiplication of the significances of the sacrificial details. In these efforts the Brāhmaṇa-texts sometimes go into some cosmological, philosophical speculations and this is seen particularly in connection with Agnicayana. Apparently, there is rigidity in the performance of the ritual but we find that possibility of aberration in the performance of action is not altogether left out of consideration as can be seen from the fact that expiations of various kinds are prescribed in view of variety of possible mistakes. This fact may perhaps justify us in saying that not mere "letter" but the "spirit" of an action is given due importance. This point along with the philosophical speculations clearly show how the "ritualism" of the Brāhmaṇa-texts is accompanied by and has a linking of "spiritualism" which was to see its full development in the period to follow.

CHAPTER VII

THE PERFORMERS OF SACRIFICE IN THE BRĀHMAṆAS

Introduction :

We have seen what are the various sacrifices, how they are classified, and their ancillary rites. Now we shall see the performers of the sacrifice, viz., the sacrificer and his wife (in this section) and the Ṛtvijs (priests) (in the next).

(A) The sacrificer and his wife in the Brāhmaṇa-texts :

(1) Sacrificer :

Among the performers of the sacrifice the sacrificer (yajamāna) is the most important. He is the starting point of the sacrifice. It is he who desires to get certain results or has to fulfil his duties; and hence performs the sacrifice. The sacrifice is, according to the Brāhmaṇa-texts, a sure means for attaining the desired objects. To be able to perform a sacrifice one has to possess the materials of the sacrifice and also sufficient amount to give away as dakṣiṇās. He has to choose the priests and make them work. Thus it is evident that without the sacrificer there can be no sacrifice. We shall now see what the Brāhmaṇa-texts have to say about the sacrificer.

Qualifications of the sacrificer :

The Brāhmaṇa-texts while describing a sacrifice generally tell us who should perform that sacrifice. The characteristics by means of which the sacrificer differs are of different kinds. The chief characteristic of a sacrificer is his particular desire. Thus, for example, the sacrifice named Apūrva is to be performed by one who has the desire of getting progeny (JB II.174). Similarly one who desires pratiṣṭhā (firm foundation) may perform the Triṣṭoma Agni-ṣṭoma (JB II.206). One who desires to be greater than the great should sacrifice with the sacrifice named Pañcaśāradiya (TB II.7.10.1).

But the mere desire is not sufficient for some sacrifices. Some sacrifices require some additional qualifications. Thus for example the performance of the Aśvamedha is not possible for everyone. Only one who holds the royal sway should perform the Aśvamedha (ŚB XIII.1.6.3). The Pravargya-performance which is a part of the soma-sacrifice is to be performed not in the first soma-sacrifice, but from the second soma-sacrifice onwards. There is, however, an exception. One who is well-versed in the Vedic lore can perform the Pravargya even at the first performance of soma-sacrifice (KB VIII.3). The Gosava-sacrifice is to be performed by an aged man only (JB II.113). The persons qualified for the Vratyastoma-sacrifices are the Vratyas (TMB XVIII.1.1ff; JB II.221).

The sacrificers were at times differentiated according to their castes. Thus the timings of the establishment of the fires differed according to the castes of the sacrificer. The spring is the season for a Brāhmaṇa; the summer for a Kṣatriya and the rainy season for a Vaiśya (ŚB II.1.3.5-8). According to TB I.1.2.6-8, however, the autumn and not the rainy season is for a Vaiśya. The TB I.1.4.8 also admits the fire-establishment of the Rathakāra. The Vājapeya is to be performed according to TB I.3.2.3 by a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya (but not by a Vaiśya). The sacrifice named Rṣabha is to be performed by Kṣatriya only (TMB XIX.12.3). The Vaiśyastoma sacrifice is to be performed by a Vaiśya only (Π 1/3 XVII.4.5).

There are some very peculiar kinds of the sacrificers. The Punaḥstoma sacrifice is to be performed by him who after accepting many gifts feels as if he had swallowed poison (TMB XIX.4.2; JB II.82). The second kind of the Caturdaśa-rātra-sacrifice is to be performed by those regarding whom there are doubts like whether they should be admitted to bed, water, marriage, etc. or not (TMB XXIII.4.2). The sacrificers who are hunched-backed, dwarfish and short are also recognised and in connection with the Audumbarī (pillar), they have to lift up their arms and cut it off (having measured it with their uplifted arms) (ṢaḍB IV.3.3).

Number of the sacrificers :

Generally there is only one sacrificer in most of the sacrifices. But for the sacrifice named *Indrāgnyoḥ kulāya* there are two sacrificers (TMB XIX.15.2). One of these is a *Brāhmaṇa* and the other is a *Kṣatriya* (JB.132). For the *Manustoma*-sacrifice there are three sacrificers (TMB XIX.14.3). In the sacrificial session all the priests are also treated as sacrificers and they are also consecrated (for the details of their consecrations see ŚB XII.1.1.1-11; GB I.4.1-6).

Duties of the sacrificer :

The sacrificer desires to get the result of the sacrifice. Thus for example it is said, "He who sacrifices, sacrifices with the desire to have place in the heaven" (ŚB I.9.1.15; 5.1). Then he chooses the priests (ṢaḍB II.10.1ff) and with their help performs the sacrifice. For the performance of the sacrifice he has to get place from the prince (ṢaḍB II.10.4ff). For the performance of the sacrifice he has to give *dakṣiṇās* to the priests (ŚB II.2.2.1ff; IV.3.4.4).

During the course of the sacrifice he has sometimes to recite Mantras. Thus for example if the *hotṛ* does not know the formula with which (VS II.14a) the kindling stick

is to be consecrated, the sacrificer recites it (ŚB I.8.2.4). In the sacrificial session he may recite the subrahmanya formula (ŚB IV.6.9.25; or whomsoever the Āṇhapati may ask to recite recites the subrahmanya formula). He mutters in the Pravargya-performance "Apātām gharman āsvinā" etc. (VS XXXVIII.13) (ŚB XIV.2.2.24ff).

In the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifices (ŚB I.9.3.8), in the Rājasūya (ŚB V.4.2.5) and in the Agnicayana (ŚB VI.6.4.1) he has to take Viṣṇu-strides. In the Vājapeya he mounts on the sacrificial post (ŚB V.2.1.9ff; TB I.3.7.2ff) and he is beaten by means of bags of salt (ŚB V.2.1.16; TB I.3.7.6-7). In the Agnicayana he sings sāman over the naturally perforated brick (ŚB VIII.7.4.1ff). In the Sautrāmaṇī he drinks of the Aindra-cup (ŚB XII.8.2.24). In the Rājasūya he undergoes unction (ŚB V.4.2.1-6; TB I.7.8.1ff).

Various rules and observances :

A sacrificer has to observe many rules and observances and thus has to lead a restricted life during the period of the sacrifice. These restrictions may be mentioned as follows:

a) Food : On the day before the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice the sacrificer has to eat what/when eaten counts to as not eaten, i.e., that food of which no offerings are made and particularly he has to eat what grows in the forests -

the forest plants or the fruits of trees (ŚB I.1.9-10). This is the view of Yājñavalkya which is the final according to the ŚB. There are some other views also mentioned. Thus, e.g. Āṣāḍha Sāvayasa expected complete fast (ŚB I.1.1.7-8). Barku Vārṣṇa allowed beans (of which no offerings are made) to be eaten (ŚB I.1.1.10). These views are rejected. Before the consecration (dīkṣā) of the soma-sacrifice, the sacrificer may eat anything he likes (ŚB III.1.2.6), but when he is consecrated he should not eat flesh either of a cow or of an ox (ŚB III.1.2.21; Yājñavalkya, however, says, "I, for one, eat it provided it is tender"). During the somic-cāturmāsya also he should not eat any kind of flesh (TMB XVII.13.6; 11; 14). The soma-sacrificer has to take merely the fast-milk and that is not to be offered in the fire (ŚB III.2.2.10; cp. ŚB III.1.2.1). Some add rice and barley to the first day's fast-milk; but this is not to be done; for both the rice and barley form his offering-material (ŚB III.2.2.14). Some add to the fast-food all sorts of vegetables and fragrances; but this is also not to be done; for it is inauspicious (ŚB III.2.2.15). It is also said that after the consecration, if he pleases, the sacrificer may not eat anything (ŚB III.1.2.1). The sacrificer performing the Śabalīhomas has to drink hot milk (TMB XXI.3.4). In the Ṛtapeya-sacrifice, he has to take ghee as the fast-food during the Upasad-days. For it is the

fasting food of Gods and through the fasting food of Gods he reaches to them (TMB XVIII.2.5-6). JB II.159 allows water along with ghee as the fast-food for the Ṛtapeya sacrifice. In the Gosava-sacrifice, where the sacrificer behaves like a bull, has to eat grass.

b) Sexual behaviour : There are restrictions upon the sexual behaviour of the sacrificer (GB I.3.21; II.1.14). Thus the consecrated person should not have sexual intercourse with any woman (JUB III.2.4.4). In the course of the Saumika Cāturmāsyaś the sacrificer should not have sexual intercourse with any woman (TMB XVII.13.6; 11; 14). In the performance of the Āśvamedha sacrifice, in the evening, the sacrificer (king) along with the four wives - the consecrated queen, the favourite wife, the discarded wife and the Pālāgalī enters the hall of the sacrificial fires - the sacrificer by the eastern door and the wives by the southern door (ŚB XIII.4.1.8-9). After the evening Agnihotra is offered he lies down with the favourite wife. However, he lies in her lap without any intercourse.¹

1 cf. Meyer, Trilogie, III.239. For the Brahmacharya as useful for fertility see also Gonda, "Ascetics and Courtisans" ALB (Brahmavidyā) XXV (1961) p. 95.

In the Gosava-sacrifice, however, there is no restriction on the intercourse; on the other hand, apparently the prohibited ones appear to have been prescribed, curiously enough. Thus the sacrificer is there expected to behave like a bull and to have intercourse with his mother and sister and any woman of his own family (sagotrā).

c) Speech : There are limitations on the sacrificer's speech. He remains silently seated till the sunset. After the sunset he breaks his silence uttering "Vratam̐ kṛṇuta ..." (VS IV.11)(ŚB III.2.2.1-7). He has not to utter any profane word (ŚB III.1.1.10); but if he utters such a word he resorts to Agni with the following mantra "Tvam agne vratapā asi ..." (VS IV.16)(ŚB III.2.2.24). Again whatever he has to speak, he speaks falteringly (ŚB III.2.2.27). JUB III.2.4.4 says that the consecrated sacrificer uses non-human speech; for he is just like a dead man.

Elsewhere we are told that the sacrificer has to speak truth alone;² but as it is not always easy to be sure that one is speaking truth, he should use the word vicakṣaṇa at the time of speaking (AB I.6; KB VII.3; JB II.64. GB I.3.19 and

2 Oldenberg, Weltanschauung, p. 214.

II.2.23, on the other hand recommend the ^{one} of the word canasita in addition to vicakṣaṇa). An āhitāgni (one who has kept the sacred fires) also should not speak untruth. The worship of the consecrated fire is to speak truth (ŚB II.2.2.19). Aruṇa Aupaveśi told to his kinsmen that an āhitāgni should not speak untruth; but rather, he should keep silence so that no untruth would be spoken (ŚB II.2.2.20). ŚB I.1.1.4f we read : "... Verily the Gods are the truth and man is the untruth; therefore, in saying 'I now enter from untruth into truth' (VS I.56) he passes from the men to the Gods. Let him then only speak what is true; for this vow, indeed, the Gods do keep, that they speak the truth; and for this reason they are glorious : glorious, therefore, is he who, knowing this, speaks the truth".

d) Wandering : There are also restrictions on the sacrificer's wandering. He has not to go wherever his mind leads him (GB I.3.21). He has also not to go on journey and there is an expiation if he does so (GB II.1.14). He has to remain in the hut and the Sun should not set or rise while he is outside the hut (AE I.3; ŚB III.2.2.27). He should not enter into the water and rain should not fall on him (ŚB III.2.2.27).

e) Other rules : There are some other miscellaneous rules about the behaviour of the sacrificer. After the

consecration the sacrificer should not scratch himself either with a chip of wood or with his nail. For he who is consecrated becomes an embryo, and if scratched with a chip of wood or with his nail he would die. He, therefore, has to use a horn of a black antelope. For that represents his womb and womb does not harm the embryo. (ŚB III.2.1.21; cp. GB I.3.21). When a sacrificer is consecrated, he is led to the Gods, as it were; therefore, he should not shed tears; for the Gods do not shed tears (GB II.1.15). His name is not to be pronounced by others (KB VII.3; GB I.3.19).³ His name is not to be uttered in the Sūktavāka; for he is an embryo and embryos have no name (KB VII.2). He should not utter his own name (GB I.3.19) nor should he utter the name of anybody else (GB I.3.19; KB VII.3). KB VII.3 explains that the sacrificer when consecrated becomes Agni (Fire) and if his name is uttered by other persons they will burn themselves and if he utters the name of anybody he will burn them. The consecrated sacrificer should not go naked into the presence of a cow. The Gods, in order to make cow able to endure rain, cold and heat gave the skin of man to the cow and the man began to wear garments. The cow fears that her skin would be taken away by man. Therefore, the sacrificer should not be naked in the

3 For the sacrificer's name as taboo, see Keith, RPV, p.327.

presence of a cow (ŚB III.1.2.13-17; cp. JB II.182f in connection with the Viśvajit sacrifice). When he intends to pass urine, he takes up a clod of earth or of some other object by means of the horn of a deer, with the words, "Iyam te yajñiṣā tanuh" etc. (VS IV.13)(ŚB III.2.2.20). The consecrated sacrificer should not stand up before anybody in order to show respect to him, nor should he pay homage to anybody; on the contrary, others should stand up before him and pay homage to him (GB I.3.19). The consecrated sacrificer has not to offer the Agnihotra (KB VII.3; JB II.38; GB I.3.21). In that in the evening and in the morning fast-drink is given to the sacrificer that is the Agnihotra (KB VII.3). He should not offer the Darsapūraṇamāsa offerings, the Pitryajña, and the animal-sacrifice (Paśubandha)(GB I.3.21; JB II.38) and the Cāturmāsya-sacrifices (JB II.38). The consecrated sacrificer has really speaking not to sleep at all. For he who is consecrated draws nigh to the Gods and becomes one of the deities; but Gods do not sleep; but still as not to sleep is not vouchsafed (for man), and Agni being the Lord of the vows to the Gods, it is to him that he now commits himself and lies down to sleep (ŚB III.2.2.22).

Sacrifice and sacrificer :

Let us see the relations between the sacrifice and the sacrificer. "The sacrificer becomes the sacrificer when he

sacrifices (yad yajate tad yajamānaḥ(bhavati)" ŚB III.2.1.17). Thus the etymology of the word yajamāna (sacrificer) is given here by connecting it with the root yaj to sacrifice. The sacrificer produces the sacrifice; it is by his order that the priests (ṛtvijaḥ) spread the sacrifice (ŚB I.9.1.2). He is the body of the sacrifice (ŚB IX.5.2.16; XII.8.1.17; KB XVII.7). He is also the body of Vasordhārā (shower of wealth) offerings which take place in the course of Agnicayana (ŚB IX.3.3.17). The sacrifice is also called sometimes the body of the sacrificer (ŚB IX.3.2.7). The sacrificer is often said to be yajñapati - Lord of the sacrifice (ŚB I.1.2.12; I.2.2.28; I.7.1.11). KB X.4 has, however, an objection against it. "Regarding this some say, the lord of the sacrifice is the sacrificer". "What man (is the lord)?" He should say, "The Lord of the Sacrifice is the deity only". (cp. AB. II.6 which uses the word medhapati instead of yajñapati and has the same view as the KB). The sacrificer is sometimes identified with the sacrifice itself (AB II.26; ŚB XIV.3.1.34; JB I.259; III.303 etc.)⁴ and with the particular sacrifice e.g. the Aśvamedha (ŚB XIV.2.2.1). He is also identified with some of the factors used in the sacrifice e.g. soma

4 cp. Keith, RPV, p.459.

(TB I.3.3.5), yūpa (sacrificial post)(ŚB XIII.2.6.9; TB I.3.7.3; AB II.3); the paśu (victim)(TB II.1.5.2; II.2.8.2) prastara (bunch of darbha-grass)(AB II.3; ŚB I.8.1.44; I.8.3.11) etc.

Exaltation of the sacrificer :

In the Brāhmaṇa-texts we find exaltation of everything which they consider to be important in any way. The sacrificer is also exalted in various ways. "Of great vigour (mahāvīrya) is this one who has obtained the sacrifice" (ŚB III.2.1.39). "He who sacrifices pleases the Gods" (ŚB I.9.1.3). He is said to be Prajāpati at his sacrifice and it is by his order that the priests spread and produce the sacrifice (ŚB I.8.1.20). For the sacrificer as Prajāpati see also AB II.18. ŚB VIII.5.3.8 we find that he is said to be Indra at his own sacrifice. We have already mentioned that the sacrificer after he is consecrated has not to stand up before anybody or to pay homage to anybody; on the contrary others have to stand up before him or have to pay homage to him. The reason for this is that the Atharvāṅgirases before whom one should stand up and to whom one should pay homage are said to have entered into his body (GB I.3.19). The sacrificer is identified with various Gods like Indra

(ŚB II.1.2.11; III.3.3.10 etc.)⁵, Sun (ŚB XII.8.2.36), Agni (ŚB VI.3.3.21; 4.1.3; 12; 4.18; X.1.4.14 etc.) etc. at different places. He is said to be the best (śreṣṭha) (ŚB IV.2.4.20). Finally the sacrificer is identified with all (ŚB XIV.3.2.25). Such identification of anything, as has been already noted, is a very effective way of exaltation adopted in the Brāhmaṇa-texts.

(11) Sacrificer's wife⁶ :

Her duties :

The wife of the sacrificer generally sits behind the Gārhapatya-fire in the course of the sacrifice (AB III.37); excepting the sacrifice to the fathers (TB I.6.9.10). In the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifices a girdle is tied around her waist. The part below the navel of a woman is impure; that part is concealed by means of the girdle. For, she has to look down upon the sacrificial butter and this must be done with having pure part of her body (ŚB I.3.1.12-13). She looks down upon

5 For the identification of the sacrificer and Indra see Heesterman "Vratya and sacrifice" IJ VI (1962) p.21f.

6 On the wife of the sacrificer and her duties see Choudhuri, "The wife in the Vedic Ritual" IHQ 16 (1940), p.70ff.

the sacrificial butter and thus a productive pair is made there. For she is a woman and the sacrificial butter represents the seed (ŚB I.3.1.18). She has to untie the veda-bunch. Here also a productive pair is formed. For the wife is a female and the veda is male (ŚB I.9.2.22). In the performance of the Varuṇapraghāsaparvan in the Cāturmāsya-sacrifices, she is asked by the Pratiprasthātṛ about her sexual relation with anybody. When a woman who belongs to one man, carries on intercourse with another this is a sin against Varuṇa and when she confesses it, it becomes truth (ŚB II.5.2.20; TB I.6.5.2). She also offers then the Varuṇapraghāsa (ŚB II.5.2.23-24). In the soma-sacrifice the dust of the foot-print of the cow by means of which soma is bought is handed down to her (ŚB III.3.1.10). The Neṣṭṛ makes the soma-cow look at her. Soma is male and the wife is female; Soma is male and the soma-cow represents the soma. Thus a productive pair is formed (ŚB III.3.1.11). She is led up by the Neṣṭṛ to cleanse the sacrificial victim (ŚB III.8.2.1) and then she cleanses the victim (ŚB III.8.2.4). The reasoning why it is the wife who cleanses the victim is that the wife is a woman and from woman the progeny is born. The victim which is killed is thus made to be born again (ŚB III.8.2.5). She exchanges looks with the udgātṛ and as the udgātṛ is Prajāpati and thus represents male element and she the female element, so a productive pair takes place there (ŚB IV.4.2.17-18).

In the Vājapeya-sacrifice, she, along with the sacrificer, ascends the sacrificial post (ŚB V.2.1.10; TB I.3.7.2ff). In the Rājasūya there are the Ratnin offerings. In those offerings there is an offering in the house of the chief queen (ŚB V.3.1.4; TB I.7.3.3). There is an offering in the house of Vāvātā (favourite wife) according to the TB I.7.3.3. By means of these Ratnin offerings the favour of the persons in whose house these offerings are made is obtained. There is also an offering in the house of the wife who has been discarded (Parivṛtti) because she has no son. (ŚB V.3.1.13; TB I.7.3.4). In the Agni-cayana (Fire-building ceremony) the chief queen forms the brick which is called Aṣāḍhā (invincible) (ŚB VI.5.3.7). In the Aśvamedha sacrifice three wives, viz., Mahiṣī, Vāvātā and Parivṛtti anoint the horse (ŚB XIII.2.6.4ff; TB III.9.4.6f). The sacrificer enters into the hall of the sacrificial fires with four wives the above three and Pālāgalī in addition. They are all adorned and wearing gold ornaments. The sacrificer enters by the eastern door and the wives by the southern door (ŚB XIII.4.1.8). After when the evening-offering has been offered, the sacrificer has to lie down with the favourite wife (Vāvātā) in her lap embracing her without any intercourse. At the same time the other wives also lie down there (ŚB XIII.4.1.9). The chief queen (mahīṣī) has to lie down near the horse and the priests cover her with the upper cloth. The

Mahīṣī then puts the generation organ of the horse into her womb and says, "May the vigorous male, the layer of the seed, lay seed" (ŚB XIII.5.2.2). All the four queens have a part in the obscene dialogue with the priests (ŚB XIII.5.2.5ff).

Generalities about the wife of the sacrificer :

We have described above the chief duties of the wife (or wives) of the sacrificer as mentioned by the Brāhmaṇa-texts. Let us see what the Brāhmaṇa-texts say about the wife of the sacrificer in general.

As the sacrificer's wife sits behind the Gārhapatya, she is called the hind-part (jaghanārdha) of the sacrifice (ŚB I.3.1.12; 9.2.3; II.5.5.29; III.8.2.2; V.2.1.8). Without the wife of the sacrificer the sacrifice is no sacrifice at all and when she sits behind, then it becomes the sacrifice (TB III.3.3.1). If she is in menstruation period at the time of the day of the observance half of the sacrifice dies (TB III.7.1.9). Elsewhere she is described as the half part of the sacrificer (JB I.86; TB III.3.3.5). Thus is her importance indicated. In the list of the persons connected with the sacrifice GB I.5.24 mentions the sacrificer's wife as having faith.

Concluding remarks :

We thus see that the sacrificer and the wife of the sacrificer are very important persons in the performance of the sacrifice. Their various duties and rules of the behaviour tell us the grown up ritualism in the Brāhmaṇa-periods. As we shall see elsewhere, the result of the sacrifice is said to be obtained by "one who knows" and thus importance of knowledge on the part of the sacrificer must be said to have been established, in the Brāhmaṇas. Similarly the mention of faith (śraddhā) in connection with the sacrificer's wife is also important. The importance of knowledge and faith may be said to afford us an inkling of the potential spiritualism in the ritualism of the Brāhmaṇa-texts.

(B) The ṛtvijs (priests).Introduction :

The sacrifice was growing more and more complex and it was becoming impossible for one single person to perform it accurately in all its details. The sacrificer, therefore, required the assistance of persons specialized in various aspects of the sacrifices to perform various sacrificial details on his behalf. These persons are the ṛtvijs. They belong to different vedas; and perform their sacrificial duties each one of them in connection with the veda they represented. Here we are now going to see what information about the ṛtvijs we get in Brāhmaṇa-texts.

Etymology of the word ṛtviḥ :

The word ṛtviḥ is derived either from ṛtvya or ṛtviya. TMB 4.3.1 we read the following story : Prajāpati desired, "May I be more than one; May I be reproduced". Then he perceived in himself the seasonal period (ṛtvya). Therefrom he created the ṛtvijs - the officiating priests; and because he created them from the seasonal period (ṛtvya), therefore, they are called ṛtvijs. JB III.1 gives the story with a slight change. It reads ṛtviya instead of ṛtvya. From ṛtviya, we are further told that Prajāpati created the three ṛtus and these three worlds. Because he created ṛtus from ṛtviya, therefore, they are so called,

and because he created the ṛtvijs from ṛtviya, therefore, they are called ṛtvijs. These etymologies show that the Brāhmaṇa-texts want to connect the ṛtvijs with seasons and with Prajāpati as the creator of the ṛtvijs with seasons and with Prajāpati as the creator of the ṛtvijs. The connection of Prajāpati is as has been already stated above generally intended to bring about exaltation. According to Pāṇini III.2.59 the word ṛtviḥ is a nipāta-word derived from the word ṛtu and the root yaj meaning "One who sacrifices in due time (period) or sacrifices to the season (ṛtu) or employed in particular season, sacrifices" (see kāśikā). It is suggested that he offers at the proper time, according to the proper rules, etc. and correctly. This etymology can throw better light upon the concept of ṛtviḥ.

Ṛtvijs - Number :

The number of the ṛtvijs varies from sacrifice to sacrifice. The particular number of ṛtvijs required for particular sacrifices has been given in some details by TB II.3.6.1-4. Prajāpati after having created the beings lay down reduced to the heart only. He called for his body once. The waters listened this and came with Agnihotra and gave the body without head to him. Therefore, in the Agnihotra there is only one ṛtviḥ. Then he called for four

times. This was listened^{to} by Agni, Vāyu, Āditya and Candramas. They came with Darśa and Pūrṇamāsa sacrifices. They gave him four limbs. Therefore, there are four ṛtvijs in the Darśa and Pūrṇamāsa sacrifices. Then he called for five times. Beasts listened to this and came with the Cāturmāsya-sacrifices. They gave him hair, skin, flesh, bones and marrow - these five bodily elements. Therefore, there are five ṛtvijs in the Cāturmāsya-sacrifices. Then he called for six times. The seasons listened and came with the Paśubandha. They gave him six limbs more. Therefore, there are six ṛtvijs in the Paśubandha. Then he called for seven times. The Hotrās listened to this and came with the soma-sacrifice. They gave Prajāpati the seven vital airs on the head. Therefore, there are seven hotṛ-priests facing to the east who call the vaṣaṭ in the soma-sacrifice. Thus the number of priests in various sacrifice have got mystical reasonings behind them.

Generally speaking in a soma-sacrifice the number of all the priests is sixteen; but according to some there is a seventeenth priest also called the Sadasya. Among these there are four chief priests (mahartvijah) and each one of them has three assistant priests. A complete list of priests is given by the GB I.5.24 as follows :

- (i) ṛtvijs belonging to the R̥gveda - (a) hotṛ
(b) maitrāvaruṇa (c) acchāvāka (d) grāvastut.
- (ii) ṛtvijs belonging to the Yajurveda - (a) adhvaryu
(b) pratiprasthātṛ (c) neṣṭṛ (d) unnetṛ.
- (iii) ṛtvijs belonging to the Sāmaveda - (a) udgātṛ
(b) prastotṛ (c) subrahmanya (d) pratiharṭṛ.
- (iv) ṛtvijs belonging to the Atharvaveda - (a) brahman
(b) brāhmanācchamsin (c) potṛ (d) āgnīdhra

The seventeenth priest is the Sadasya.¹

The chief priests (mahartvijs) :

The hotṛ, the adhvaryu, the udgātṛ and the brāhman are the four chief priests. When the sacrificial horse was immolated his greatness went away. It entered into the chief priests. This is the reason why they became the chief priests. In the Aśvamedha, the Brahmaudana is given to them. When they eat it they place that greatness (which had gone away from the sacrifice) into the sacrifice

1 See Keith, RPV, p.298 "The whole arrangement is, however, artificial and worthless. The three assistants of the brahman and the neṣṭṛ in practice are reckoned rather with the hotṛ and the aim at sets of four has spoiled the natural order".

(ŚB XIII.1.1.1-4;4.1.4-6;TB III.8.2.4). Though the Chief priests are the hotṛ, the adhvaryu, the udgātṛ, and the brahman, the other priests are mystically supposed to be included in the chief priests (ŚB XIII.4.1.4).

Let us see now in detail the particularities of these chief priests one by one on the basis of the Brāhmaṇa-texts.

Hotṛ :

The hotṛ belongs to the Rgveda (AB V.32;33;KB VI.II; ŚB XI.5.8.7;JB I.358;GB I.3.2;5.24)

Etymology of the word hotṛ :

AB I.2 gives an etymology of the word hotṛ. There, first an objection is raised that the word hotṛ seems to be connected with the root hu to make libations, but in reality hotṛ does not do this action; then, it is asked why the hotṛ has this name ? The objection is removed by giving another etymology of the word from the root vah with ā prefix. In that he according to their portions invites the deities saying "Bring hither N.N.; bring hither N.N.(amum āvaha, amum āvaha) that is why

hotṛ has his name"² This etymology, though grammatically difficult to be accepted, shows the view of the Brāhmaṇa-texts that they consider the hotṛ's duty as "bringing" the deities.

Duties of the hotṛ :

The hotṛ has to recite (śams). He recites the invitational verses, the litanies (śastras) and the offering verses and also utters the vaśat call (AB V.34; GB I.3.4; JUB III.4.3.4). In the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifices he recites the sāmīdhenī verses and by means of them he enkindles the fire (ŚB I.3.5.1ff). He calls on Ārṣeya Hotṛpravara in the same performance (ŚB I.4.2.3ff). When he is formally chosen, he takes the hotṛ's seat and goes on muttering formulas (ŚB I.5.1.12ff). At the end of the Darśapūrṇamāsa he invokes the blessings (ŚB I.9.1.2). In the soma-sacrifices he recites the Āprīverses (ŚB III.8.1.2ff); the morning prayers (ŚB III.9.3.10; AB II.15ff);

2 Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p.386 remarks that the name hotṛ shows that in old times one and the same person used to perform the duties like recitation as well as offering the oblation. cf. Keith, RPV, p.294. Renou, Vocabulaire p.175 explains Hotṛ as "proprement "celui qui verse" secondairement "celui qui invoque" cp. Minard Trois énigmes, I, p.123.

various śastras e.g. the Ājyāśastra etc. (e.g. AB II.33ff) and the Cāturhotṛ formulas (ŚB IV.6.9.18). At the end of the soma-sacrifices he recites the silent praise (Tūṣṇīmśamsa) (AB II.31). In the Rājasūya, he tells the Śunaḥśepa's legend sitting on the golden cushion (AB VII.18; TB I.7.10.5). In the Āśvamedha he tells the Pāriplava legend (ŚB XIII.4.3.2ff). He has also to take part in the theological discussion (Brahmodya) which is a part of the Āśvamedha (ŚB XIII.2.6.9ff; 5.2.12f; 17f; TB III.9.5.1ff). In the same sacrifice he has also to take part in the obscence dialogue and speaks with Parivṛkti (discarded wife) (ŚB XIII.5.2.7). For the sacrifice named Brhaspatisava special characteristics of the hotṛ are required. He must be bald-headed, of reddish colour and trisukra i.e. purely learned in the three vedas or pure in three things, viz., in motherly descent, in fatherly descent and in his own behaviour (TB II.7.1.1-2).

Hotṛ and other ṛtvijs :

Hotṛ is female and the udgātṛ is male. For the hotṛ is connected with ṛc (feminine) and the udgātṛ is identical with Prajāpati (masculine) (ŚB IV.3.2.3. For the hotṛ as female see ŚB III.9.4.25). Elsewhere it is said that the adhvaryu is mind and the hotṛ is speech. Therefore, as the adhvaryu directs so he does (ŚB IV.6.7.19).

But sometimes we find that the adhvaryu also does according to what the hotṛ tells him. Thus for example after taking seat the hotṛ urges him to proceed further and the adhvaryu does accordingly (ŚB II.6.1.23). Thus both the hotṛ and the adhvaryu are interdependent, though in a majority of cases it is the hotṛ who has to receive orders (praiśa) from the adhvaryu.

Importance and exaltation of the hotṛ :

In order to show the importance of the hotṛ and to exalt him, he is identified with Satya (Truth)(TMB A.V.18.4). He is elsewhere said to be breath (AB V.8). He is also described as the middle of the sacrifice and by giving dakṣiṇās to him the sacrifice is pleased in the middle (TB III.3.8.10). At other places he is identified with the sacrifice itself (AB I.28; ŚB VI.4.2.7; TB I.7.6.1; III.9.5.2).

Adhvaryu :

The adhvaryu belongs to the Yajurveda (AB V.32;33; KB VI.11; ŚB AI.5.8.7; JB I.358; GB I.3.2;5.24).

Duties of the adhvaryu :

The adhvaryu does the manual activities in general in the performance of the sacrifice. His main duties are

briefly described as to draw the cups for the sacrificer, to act for him, and to offer libations for him. The dakṣiṇās are given to him in view of the duties he has to perform (AB V.34; GB I.3.4; JUB III.4.3.4). Apart from these some of his special duties are as follows :

In the Darśapūrṇamāsa he looks into the sacrificial butter (ŚB I.3.1.26-28). He also performs the Patnīśamyājas (ŚB II.5.2.45) and samiṣṭayajus (ŚB II.5.2.46) in those sacrifices. He has to request the hotṛ for reciting the invitatory and offering verses at the time of making any offering (e.g. ŚB I.8.2.14 etc). In the soma-sacrifices he has a part in speaking with one who buys the soma (ŚB III.3.3.1ff) and in drawing the soma-cups (e.g. ŚB IV.2.1.1ff). In the Rājasūya he performs the abhiṣeka to the king (ŚB V.4.2.1). In the fire-altar-building he sings sāmans (ŚB I.1.2.43). In the Mahāvrata-ceremony he sings the Trivṛt-stoma according to some; but TMB V.6.6 has an objection to this - "How an adhvaryu and a Ṛgveda-priest can sing a sāman ?" In the Aśvamedha he has a part in the dialogue with a maiden (ŚB XIII.5.2.4) and in the theological discussion (Brahmodya) (ŚB XIII.5.2.12-13; 17-18; TB III.9.5.1ff). In the sacrificial session (sattra) he has to consecrate these four persons, namely the sacrificer, the brahman, the udgātṛ and the hotṛ (ŚB XII.1.1.1-4; GB I.4.1-4).

Adhvaryu and other ṛtvijs :

Nothing is done by other ṛtvijs without the direction of the adhvaryu. For the yajus (to which he belongs) is the mind and the ṛc and sāman are speech. Speech does not speak anything which is not conceived by the mind (ŚB IV. 6.7.19). Pratiprasthātr̥ is described as his imitator (ŚB II.5.2.34). TB I.6.5.1-2 the same point is told in the following way - "Whichever is done by the adhvaryu, that is done by the pratiprasthātr̥. Therefore, what the superior does the inferior imitates it."

Importance and exaltation of the adhvaryu :

The importance of the adhvaryu is variously stated. He is said to be the forepart of the sacrifice (ŚB I.9.2.3). Elsewhere, he is described as the head of the sacrifice (ŚB IV.1.5.15f). It is the adhvaryu who spreads the sacrifice (ŚB V.5.5.18), nay, he is the foundation (pratiṣṭhā) of the sacrifice (TB III.3.8.10). His growing importance brings greater responsibilities to him. This is described in a very effective way by TB I.4.6.4-6. The adhvaryu is iṣṭarga i.e. he is the killer of fruit of all the ṛtvijs; for he has to do so many activities and hence it is always probable that there may be mistakes due to his inadvertance. But it is the killer of the fruit (iṣṭarga) of others that is likely to suffer first of all. Therefore, he should

recite a verse praying thereby to be secure. ŚB XIV. 3.1.33 also implies that he has to do many activities. Thus he has to do so many activities that he becomes "scorched" as it were at the time of coming out of the sacrificial ground (see also ŚB XI.5.1.32). He is also exalted by being identified with the Sun (ŚaḍB II.5.3) with the eye (ŚaḍB II.6.2), apāna (ŚaḍB II.7.2), and with the prāṇa (TMB XXV.18.4).

Udgātr :

The ṛtvij udgātr belongs to the Sāmaveda (AB V.32; 33; KB VI.11; ŚB XI.5.8.7; JB I.358).

Origin of the udgātrship :

The origin of the udgātrship is told by the TMB VI. 7.5 as follows : The speech went away from the Gods. The Gods called her. She said, " I am shareless. Let me have a share". "Who could make a share for thee?" "The udgātrs", she said. This appears to be the mythical origin of the udgātrship found in the Brāhmaṇas.

Duties of the udgātr :

The chief duty of the udgātr, as is suggested by the story of origin is connected with the speech, i.e., with the singing. Thus it is said that the sacrificer gives

dakṣiṇās to the udgātr thinking that he has sung, for him (the sacrificer) (AB V.34; JUB III.4.3.4; GB I.3.4).

The duties of the Udgātr appear to have a special bearing upon the generation. In the soma-sacrifice, he exchanges looks with the wife of the sacrificer. For he is Prajāpati and the wife is a woman. That forms a productive pair (ŚB IV.4.3.1). By means of sevenfold sāmān, he generates the sacrificer and himself for seven times (JUB III.6.6.4). Elsewhere it is said that he is Prajāpati and pours seed. When he recites the Retasyā verses he pours the sacrificer himself in the form of seed. If he were to recite the verse without sāmān there would be only bones and no flesh at all. If sāmān alone were to be sung, then there would be flesh alone and no bones at all. As he recites the verse equipped with sāmān, therefore, a man is born covered by hair, skin and flesh (JB I.259). His identification with Prajāpati also shows clearly how he is connected with the generation. He signs Virāj-sāmān with repeated, push, for the sake of impregnation. For from the repeated push, seed is implanted (pregnancy follows) (TMB XII.10.11; cp. JB III.70). On his right thigh the fire is churned; for from the right side the seed is discharged (TMB XII.10.12; cp. JB III.70) which says that the right half is more powerful; cp. also in

this context the following remark which is often found in the Brāhmaṇa-texts - dakṣinato hi vṛṣā yoṣām upāsete e.g. ŚB VI.3.1.30). The udgātr̥ is compared to the rainy season (ŚB AI.2.7.32) and this also suggests his connection with the productivity.

Among his other duties it may be mentioned that he has to sprinkle the horse in the Aśvamedha (TB III.8.5.3-4). He has in the same sacrifice a part in the dialogue with Vāvātā (ŚB XIII.5.2.6) and in the Brahmodya (ŚB XIII.5.2.14-15; 19-20).

Udgātr̥ and hotṛ :

We have already mentioned that these two form a productive pair (see hotṛ). For the udgātr̥ represents the male element and the hotṛ represents the female element. Elsewhere he is shown to be superior to the hotṛ. For the hotṛ belongs to one deity only; while the udgātr̥ belongs to all the deities (JB I.118).

Importance and Exaltation of the udgātr̥ :

The importance of the sāmān-priests in general is glorified in the following manner - wherever there is the priesthood of the sāmaveda, there the Gods eat much; for the sāmān is the food of the Gods (JB II.71). From this

the importance of the udgātr who is a priest belonging to the sāmaveda can be understood. If at the time of the creeping for the bahiṣpavamāna the udgātr is severed, i.e. if he lets go his hold of the former, then the sacrificer becomes deprived of the sacrifice (TMB VI.7.14). This apparently indicated that the udgātr is as important as the sacrifice itself. JB I.85 in the same strain says that if the udgātr is severed from the Bahiṣpavamāna-procession then there will be all the calamities. The udgātr is exalted by being identified with Prajāpati (e.g. JB I.70; 88; 259 etc.) He is also identified with the life (TB III.8.5.4). He frees the sacrificer from death (JUB III.7.1.1ff) and the real udgātr is he who removes the death from the sacrificer (JUB III.7.1.1ff).

Brahman :

Origin of brahman :

Manu bestowed the Brahmanhood on Vasīṣṭha according to JUB III. 4.1.1-2. But according to ṢaḍB I.5.3.1-3 it was Indra who did it. But according to both the JUB and ṢaḍB it was Vasīṣṭha who received that knowledge. ŚB XII.6.1.38ff another story is found in which Indra is told to have given the Vyāhrtis (which play a very essential role in the duties of brahman) to Vasīṣṭha. It is further added there that in old times a person belonging to Vasīṣṭha family

alone could be the brahman. But in modern times anyone can be the brahman. Thus the Brāhmaṇa-texts connect the origin of the brahmanhood to Vasīṣṭha.

Admission of the brahman in the Śrauta-ritual :

The priest brahman was not easily admitted in the circle of the priests of the Śrauta-ritual. Thus we find questions and answers about his nature and work. KB VI. 11 gives us a discussion in which it is asked, to which veda he (the brahman priest) belongs; for, the connection of the other priests to their respective vedas is well-known; but that of the brahman is not. The answers to this question differ. According to some the adhvaryu himself should work as brahman, while others say that a chandoga should work as brahman. Another view and that which is acceptable to the KB is that the brahman should be a bahvr̥ca. (=belonging to the RV). From this it seems that there was difference of opinion about the veda to which the brahman should belong and he was connected with the Yajurveda or Sāmaveda, or R̥gveda by different authorities. Elsewhere it is also said that he must have threefold knowledge i.e. he must be knowing all the three vedas (AB V.33; ŚB AI.5.8.7; JB I.358). GB (which belongs to the Atharvaveda), however, directly connects the brahman to the Atharvaveda. Gods and Asuras were struggling and

at that time Gods requested Indra to protect the sacrifice. He then took the form of the Ṛgveda, then of the Yajurveda and then of the Sāmaveda; but in spite of all this he was unable to protect the sacrifice. Then he took the form of the Atharvaveda and wore a turban and protected the sacrifice. Therefore, now also the brahman wearing turban represents the Atharvaveda (GB I.2.19; cp. GB I.5.24). Here the connection of the brahman and the Atharvaveda is clearly mentioned. The efforts of the GB to elevate the brahman-priest and the Atharvaveda are also obvious when we take into consideration how the work of protection of the sacrifice was impossible in the forms of other vedas for Indra.

There was also discussions and objections as regards why dakṣiṇās are to be given to the brahman. There it is said that the other priests have to do certain work, and therefore, dakṣiṇās are given to them. But then it is asked why one should give dakṣiṇās at all to the brahman (AB V.34; JUB III.4.3.4). It is noteworthy that GB does not mention any such objection at all. It only gives the reasons why the dakṣiṇās are given to the other priests (GB I.3.4) and then directly draws attention to the fact that half of the dakṣiṇās used to be given to the brahman in past times; for he bears half of the sacrifice (GB I.3.4; cp. AB V.34; JUB III.4.3.5). Here also the efforts for

elevating the Brahman are evident.

Duties of brahman :

He generally remains silent (AB V.33; JUB III.4.2. 1-2)³ while other priests are doing their duties with the Rgveda, Yajurveda and the Sāman (ṢaḍB I.5.6). He sits in the southern part and protects the sacrifice (ŚB I.7.4.18; II.4.3.26; V.4.3.26; V.4.5.22; V.5.1.9; XII.6.1.38; XIV.1.3.2; GB I.2.19). He has also to perform expiations (prāyaścittis) whenever there is something done in excess or defectively (ṢaḍB I.5.9). He, therefore, is called the physician of the sacrifice (AB V.34; ŚB XIV.2.2.19).⁴ In the Pravargya-performance he pronounces the anumantṛaṇa formula over the gharma (ŚB XIV.2.2.19). He sings sāmans e.g. Vājinām sāman in the Vājapeya (TMB XVIII.7.12; JB II.193). In the Aśvamedha, he has a part in the dialogue with Mahiṣī (ŚB XIII.5.2.5) and in the Brahmodya (ŚB XIII.5.2.14-15; TB III.9.5.1).

3 See Renou, "La valeur du silence dans le culte Védique" JAOS, 69 (1949), p.11.

4 See Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p.395; Gonda, Religionen Indiens, I, p.142.

Importance and Exaltation of the brahman :

As there were some ritualists who were opposing the brahman, there were others who tried to establish, elevate, and exalt him. Thus we have already mentioned how he alone is supposed to be the half part of the sacrifice and all other priests to-gether were the other half. At another place the brahman is conceived as the entire sacrifice (ŚB VI.2.2.40). Elsewhere it is said that on the brahman the sacrifice is based (AB VII.26; KB VI.12). In the GB the tendency to elevate the brahman is seen particularly for the leading theme of its composers is to push up to the front the AV and its adherents.⁵ Thus it mentions that the brahman knowing the Bhrgvangirasah is knower of all (sarvavid) (GB I.2.18). Again it is said that the sacrifice is incomplete without him (GB I.3.1-2). TB III.8.5.2 identifies him with power(bala) and exalts him.

We have so far seen the four chief priests. Now let us see their assistants.

Assisting priests :

Maitrāvaruṇa :

The maitrāvaruṇa works under the hotṛ (ŚB XII.1.1.6;

5 Bloomfield, The Atharvaveda, p.29

GB I.4.6;5.24). He is also called praśāstr̥ (e.g. AB VI.14;KB XXVIII.5;TB III.12.9.4 etc)⁶ or upvaktr̥ (e.g. AB V.28;KB XIII.8;XXVIII.5.etc.).⁷

Duties of Maitrāvaruṇa :

The chief duty of the maitrāvaruṇa is to recite e.g. a litany to Mitra and Varuṇa at the mid-day pressing(AB V.4) or to Indra and Varuṇa at the third pressing (AB III.50). He shares in the drinking of the Sārasvata-cup(ŚB XII.8.2.23). In the Dasapeya which occurs in the Rājasūya he gets a barren cow (ŚB V.4.5.22;TB I.8.2.4;TMB XVIII.9.13).

Importance and Exaltation :

Maitrāvaruṇa is said to be the leader of the minor hotṛpriests (hotrakas)(AB VI.6). He is identified with the mind of the sacrifice (ŚB XII.8.2.23;AB II.5;28).

Acchāvāka :

Acchāvāka is an assistant of the hotṛ (ŚB XII.1.1.8; GB I.4.6;5.24).

6 Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythology, I,496,n.4; Oldenberg Religion des Veda, p.399; Keith, RPV. p.296; Renou, Vocabulaire, p.127.

7 See the note 6 above.

Origin of the acchāvāka-priesthood :

Nābhānediṣṭha Mānava sought an invitation from the Angirases. He "saw" the duty of the acchāvāka. He came to their sacrifice when the sacrificial food had been invoked. Therefore, there is no formal selection of this priest (i.e. no formal "pravara" is uttered)(KB 11VIII.4). This suggests that the place of acchāvāka was created in later times.⁸

Duties of acchāvāka :

He sits in the eastern region (KB 11VIII.4). His main work is recitation of verses (e.g. AB II.36; VI.13;14). Thus he recites at the morning-pressing a litany to Indra and Agni (AB II.36). He has a part in creeping to the sadas. The other hotrakas are in front and he is behind (AB II.36). He recites three hymns in the Ṣaḍaha (AB VI. 19; GB II.6.1). On the second day of Dvādaśāha he sings the Rauravasāman (TMB XII.4.23).

Importance and Exaltation of acchāvāka :

In order to show that the acchāvāka has his own importance, he is connected with Indra and Agni. Thus it is said that previously the acchāvāka was excluded from soma. Indra and Agni preserved soma for him. Therefore,

8 Cf. Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p.384,n.2; Keith,
RBT p.516, n.1.

he is said to belong to Indra and Agni (aindrāgna)(ŚB III. 6.2.12-13; IV.3.1.1-2). As these two divinities form a productive pair (mithuna), the acchāvāka is called a productive pair (mithuna) (ŚB IV.3.1.3). The importance of the acchāvāka is brought out emphatically by saying that only a Brāhmaṇa skilled in the ṛgverses and strong one should perform the part of the acchāvāka (AB II.36). GB II.5.15 praises the acchāvāka in similar words saying that he is the strong and skilled in ṛgverses.

Grāvastut :

Grāvastut is an assistant of the hotṛ (ŚB XII.1.1.9; GB I.4.6; 5.24).

Origin of the grāvastut-priesthood :

The origin of the grāvastut-priesthood is told in KB XII.1.1 as follows - when the Gods performed the sacrifice at sarvacaru, Arbuda, Kādraveya came upto them at the midday pressing and said, "One hotṛ's office is not being performed by you. That is the one of the grāvastut. Let me perform it for you; do you invite me". They agreed and invited him. Then he saw the appropriate verses for his work.

From this it can be understood that Arbuda Kādraveya has made some efforts to introduce the grāvastut-priesthood

and this priesthood thus is later in origin.

Duties of the grāvastut :

The grāvastut has to praise the stones and this work is suggested by his very name "Grāvastut (praiser of the stones)." He praises standing; for the stones are standing as it were. Arbuda Kādraveya praised the stones wearing a turban and with eyes tied up; therefore, now also the grāvastut praises wearing a turban and with eyes tied up (KB XXIX.1).

Pratiprasthāṭṛ :

The pratiprasthāṭṛ is an assistant of the adhvaryu (ŚB XII.1.1.7; GB I.4.6; 5.24). As to his being imitator of the adhvaryu or being inferior to him, a reference has already been made in connection with "adhvaryu and other priests" above.

Duties of the Pratiprasthāṭṛ :

Pratiprasthāṭṛ assists the adhvaryu in the Varuṇa-praḡhāsa (ŚB II.5.2.19ff). He has to ask the wife of the sacrificer regarding her loyalty to her husband. He asks her, "with whom holdest thou intercourse ?" when a woman who belongs to one man carries an intercourse with another she undoubtedly commits a sin against Varuṇa. He thus asks

her lest she should sacrifice with a secret pang in her mind. When confessed, the sin becomes less since it then becomes truth; and whatever connection she confesses not, that will turn out injurious to her relatives (ŚB II.5.2.20; TB II.6.5.2). In the soma-sacrifice, he having taken ghee in four ladlings lays down a piece of gold in the right wheel-track of the northern soma-cart and offers thereon (ŚB III.5.1.14). In the animal-sacrifice made to Agni and Soma, he roasts the omentum (ŚB III.8.2.20). He has an important role in drawing the soma-cups (ŚB IV.3.1.4ff). In the sacrificial session he has to consecrate four personalities - the adhvaryu, the brāhmaṇācchamsin, the prastotr and the maitrāvaruṇa (ŚB XII.1.1.5-6; GB I.4.5-6).

Neṣṭr :

The neṣṭr belongs to the adhvaryu as his assistant (ŚB XII.1.1.9; GB I.4.6; 5.24).

Duties of the neṣṭr :

The neṣṭr makes the wife of the sacrificer speak at the time of making her see the soma-cow (ŚB III.3.1.11). When the slaughterer announce "The victim has been quieted", the adhvaryu gives the direction, "Neṣṭar, lead up the lady". Then the neṣṭr leads up the sacrificer's wife (ŚB III.8.2.1).

He brings her again at the time of the Pātnīvata-graha is being drawn (ŚB IV.4.2.17-18). He utters the offering verses addressed to Tvaṣṭṛ who also has some connection with women (AB VI.3;10). He recites the Vaiśvadevaśāstra in the soma-sacrifice (AB VI.14). Agnīdh sits on his lap. Here the agnīdh represents the male element and the neṣṭṛ the female element (AB VI.3;ŚB IV.4.2.8;GB II.4.5). In the Vājapeya sacrifice he draws the cups of liquor (ŚB V.1.2.16ff). In the sacrificial session he does the work of consecrating the pratiprasthātṛ, the potṛ, the pratiharṭṛ and the acchāvāka (ŚB ΔII.1.1.7-8;GB I.4.6).

Unnetṛ :

The unnetṛ is an assistant of the Adhvaryu (GB I. 5.24).

Duties of the unnetṛ :

Unnetṛ enters in the course of the soma-sacrifice, into the Havirdhāra Hall along with the adhvaryu, sacrificer, agnīdh and pratiprasthātṛ (ŚB IV.3.5.9) and other attendants of the adhvaryu. At the time when the adhvaryu pours out juice of the Āgrayana cup, the pratiprasthātṛ holds out (and pours in the two residues of the Āditya-graha), the unnetṛ adds thereto some juice from the Ādhvariya by means of a camasa-cup or a dipping vessel (udāncana)(ŚB IV.3.5.21).

Adhvaryu asks him to fill up the cup of the hotṛ (ŚB IV. 4.2.17). At the time of libation after the drawing of Hārīyojana-graha the unnetṛ calls the Śrausaṭ. "For he is excessive (atirikta); because he does not call for the śrausaṭ for any other libation, and this libation of Hārīyojana-graha is also in excess. Thus he puts excess in excess" (ŚB IV.4.3.8). There are two unnetṛs in the sacrifice named Garga-trifātra and it is to the second unnetṛ that the thousandth cow is to be optionally given as dakṣiṇā (as another option it can be given to the hotṛ) (ŚB IV.5.8.12). In the sacrificial session he consecrates the neṣṭṛ, the agnīdh, the subrahmanya and the grāvastut (ŚB XII.1.1.9; GB I.4.6). He himself is consecrated by a snātaka or a Brahmacārin (ŚB XII.1.1.11; GB I.4.6). The unnetṛ is consecrated last and at the time of the Avabhr̥tha he comes out first, For he is the vital air and thus the vital air is put in the consecrated persons on both sides. So they obtain the full term of life and do not depart from this world before their full term of life (ŚB XII. 1.1.11).

Importance and Exaltation of the unnetṛ :

In order to show hoe the unnetṛ is important and in order to exhalt him he is identified with Viṣṇu (JB II.68).

Prastotr :

The prastotr belongs to the udgātr (ŚB AII.1.1.6;GB I.4.6;5.24).

Duties of the prastotr :

In the soma-sacrifice he has a part in creeping, for the Bahispavamāna. (TMB VI.7.13;JB I.85). In the Aśvamedha-sacrifice at the time of killing of the horse he has to sing a sāman connected to Yama (TB III.9.20.1).

His work is described to be similar to the snorting of a horse. A horse snorts (praprothati) and the prastotr chants (prastauti). Therefore, in the Rājasūya at the time of Dasapeya a horse is given to him (TMB VI.7.13;JB I.85).

Importance and Exaltation :

If the prastotr is severed from the other rtvijs at the time of creeping for Bahispavamāna, the head of the sacrifice is deprived according to TMB VI.7.13; but according to JB I.85 there will be in that case some draw-back in the mouth. This implicitly shows that he is considered as were to be the head or the mouth, of the sacrifice. In glorifying him, ŚB identifies him with the speech of the sacrifice (ŚB IV.2.5.3). Elsewhere he is connected with Prajāpati (TMB XVIII.9.11).

Subrahmanya :

The Subrahmanya priest works under the udgātr(ŚB XII.1.19;GB I.4.6;5.24).

Duties of the subrahmanya :

His chief duty is to call the Subrahmanyā formula when the morning-recitation has begun and the sacrifice is not finished (ṢaḍB I.2.7). He has to call this standing upon the heap of rubbish and this has been explained by ṢaḍB I.1.1-7 by means of a story : - Originally there were Brahma and Subrahma. Subrahma escaped the Gods. The Gods sought Subrahma with the sacrifice. The Gods sought it at the junction of the sacrifice. The heap of rubbish is the junction of the sacrifice. Therefore, the subrahmanya priest calls the Subrahmanyā formula while standing upon the heap of rubbish.

The reason for the Subrahmanya standing upon the heap of rubbish is given differently elsewhere : The seers performed a sacrificial session. To the tallest of them they left the duty of calling the Subrahmanyā. They did this thinking that thereby the Gods would be summoned from the nearest. They made him stand on the rubbish heap for this purpose (AB VI.3).

The objection that the other priests do the activities

within the altar and the Subrahmanya priest without the altar (because he stands on the rubbish-heap) is removed in the following way - From within the altar they throw up the rubbish-heap and the Subrahmanya stands on that rubbish-heap. Therefore, it is not that he is doing his work without altar (AB VI.3; JB II.78).

The name of the Subrahmanya formula is Brahmasrī and the priest Subrahmanya should know this. Then he provides the sacrificer with abundant Brahman (power)⁹ and Śrī (prosperity)¹⁰. The calling of the Subrahmanya by such a knowing priest can by itself be an expiatory rite (ŚadB I.2.12).

Female elements of the subrahmanya-priest :

The subrahmanya-priest is identified with Vāc(speech) (AB VI.3; JB II.78). A question is asked as to why he is said to be like a female as it were. The answer is that he is Vāc(speech) which is female (AB VI.3). Again, he gets a bull as a dakṣiṇā the reason of which is that the bull is a male and the Subrahmanya is a female and this becomes a productive pair (AB VI.3). Thus we see that the Subrahmanya is described as a female.

9 For Brahman see Gonda, Notes on Brahman, p.40.

10 For Śrī see Gonda, Visnuism, p.176ff.

Pratihartṛ :

He is an assistant of the udgātṛ (ŚB XII.1.1.10; GB I.4.6; 5.24).

Duties of the pratiharṛ :

The chief duty of the pratiharṛ is to utter Pratihāra (which is a part of the sāmān and follows the Prastāva)¹¹ and from this the name seems to have originated. To him the dakṣiṇās are given last; for he is the restrainer (pratihartṛ). Then he restrains in the end the cows for the sacrificer and they are not lost (ŚB IV.3.4.22).

Importance and Exaltation of the pratiharṛ :

The pratiharṛ is mystically called the cross-breathing (vyāna) of the sacrifice (KB AVII.7). He is to be understood according to the ŚB IV.2.5.3 either as a physician or crossbreathing. If the pratiharṛ is severed from the priests going for the Bahiṣpavamāna, then the sacrificer is deprived of cattle; for he is identical with cattle (TMB VI.7.15. JB I.85 in this connection differs and says that in that case the fourth part of oneself will be lost).

11 cf. Renou, Vocabulaire, p.189.

Brāhmaṇācchamsin :

The priest brāhmaṇācchamsin is an assistant of the brahman. (ŚB XII.1.1.6; GB I.4.6; 5.24).

Origin of the brāhmaṇācchamsin :

The priest brāhmaṇācchamsin originated in the divine sacrificial performance. Gods, while performing sacrifice were afraid of Asuras and Rakṣases. They said, "Who of us shall sit down on the southern side ? We will enter upon the sacrifice on the northern side, in a place free from danger and injury." They decided to make the strongest of them sit on the southern side. Indra was the strongest. When he was requested accordingly, he demanded a boon and the work of the brāhmaṇācchamsin was given to him as a boon. Therefore, in the selection of the brāhmaṇācchamsin there is a mention of Indra (ŚB IV.6.6.1ff).

Duties of the brāhmaṇācchamsin :

His chief work is to recite. Thus, for example, he recites in the course of the third pressing a litany addressed to Indra and Bṛhaspati. For the Asuras removed from maitrāvaruṇa's litany took refuge in the litany of the brāhmaṇācchamsin. Indra drove them away from it with the help of Bṛhaspati (AB III.50).

Importance and Exaltation of the brāhmaṇacchamsin :

The brāhmaṇacchamsin is connected with Indra (TB I.7.6.1) and the reason of this is in the "origin of brāhmaṇacchamsin priesthood" already referred to. He is described as the middle, as the organ of generation of the body of the sacrifice (KB XXVIII.9)

Potr :

The potr is an assistant of the brahman (ŚB XII.1.1.8; GB I.4.6;5.24).

Duties of the potr :

He takes part in recitation. Thus, for example, he recites the offering verses at the time of Prasthita libations in the morning pressing (AB VI.10; KB XXVIII.3).

Āgnīdhra :

The āgnīdhra belongs to the brahman (ŚB XII.1.1.9; GB I.4.6;5.24).

Duties of the āgnīdhra :

His chief duty is to enkindle fire (KB XXVIII.3). In the Darsapūrṇamāsa sacrifices, at the time of the

stambayajurharāṇa, he goes round to the north of the fire and presses the Stambayajus down on the heap of the rubbish (ŚB I.2.4.13). He makes the spoons and vessels clean (ŚB I.3.1.1ff). He binds the wife of the sacrificer (ŚB I.3.1.12). He takes part in the discourse with the adhvaryu. Adhvaryu asks him, "Has the sacrificer gone to the Gods?" Then the āgnīdhra replies, "He has gone". Adhvaryu says, "Bid the Gods here". The āgnīdhra says, "May they hear (śrausāt)". By these words the āgnīdhra means that they have recognised him. Thus the adhvaryu and the āgnīdhra lead the sacrificer to the world of Gods (ŚB I.8.3.20; cp. I.9.2.18 also). In the performance of the Patnīsamāyajas he helps the adhvaryu (ŚB I.4.2.1ff). In the Dākṣāyaṇa form of the Darsapūrṇamāsa, he shares the remaining whey along with the hotṛ, the adhvaryu and the sacrificer (ŚB II.4.4.25). In the Pitṛmedha taking place in the Sākamedha-parvan of the Cāturmāsya-sacrifice, he smells the remaining porridge (ŚB II.6.1.33).

In the soma-sacrifice he keeps the prastara handled over to him by the adhvaryu in a safe place (ŚB III.4.4.20). He recites the offering verses for the Pātnīvatagraha (ŚB IV.4.2.15; KB 1.1.1; GB II.4.5). For he represents the male element and the wife, the female element. Thus a productive pair is brought out. He sits on the neṣṭṛ's lap.

Then also it is said that the āgnīdhra is a male and the neṣṭṛ is a female and thus a productive pair takes place there (ŚB IV.4.2.18; AB VI.3; GB II.4.5). In the third pressing he stirs the sour milk (ŚB IV.3.3.19). In the Śatarudriya performance he sprinkles the vedī. This work is assigned to him because he is the same as Agni and none will injure oneself. Therefore, he may not be injured while sprinkling Agni, altar, which is identical with Rudra (ŚB IX.1.2.1-4).

Importance and Exaltation of Āgnidhra :

The Āgnidhra is often identified with Agni as is referred to above. He is also said to be representing the heaven and the earth (ŚB I.8.1.41).

Sadasya :

This is the seventeenth priest (GB I.5.4).¹²

Difference of opinion :

ŚB 4.4.1.19 refuses to admit this priest. For then there will be excess. AB VII.1; KB 4VII.7; 44VI.4; 5; JB II.54; 5adB III.4.5; 5.6; 6.3; 7.3; 8.5; GB I.3.18; 5.24; however, recognise this priest.

12 for this priest see Weber Indische Studien, 4, 144; Hillebrandt, Rituallitteratur, p.97; Caland, Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, II, p.122.

Duties of the sadasya :

He has to sit in the Sadas and to look over all the offerings (ṢaḍB II.4.5). GB I.2.19 mentions that he has to sit in the southern part. "The Viśvedevas sit in the southern part of the sacrifice and inasmuch as the Viśvedas sat in the southern part of the sacrifice it became sadasya and that is why the sadasya is so called". GB I.2.19 says that he utters the Vyāhṛti janat.

Exaltation of the sadasya :

The sadasya is identified with the generation organ of the sacrifice (KB XVII.7). He is also described as the space (ṢaḍB II.5.6;10.9) or the space in the eye (ṢaḍB II.6.3) or the space in the man (ṢaḍB II.7.3). If the sadasya, through ignorance falls short of his work, the self leaves the sacrificer. When the sadasya performs his work skillfully he places (in the other world) his (the sacrificer's) self in the sacrificer (ṢaḍB II.8.5). Thus the sadasya is said to be identical with the self of the sacrifice.

We have seen above the individual rtvijs, their duties, their importance and exaltation, etc. Now let us see what the Brāhmaṇa-texts say about the rtvijs in general.

Sacrifice and rtvijs :

There is a long chain of interdepending factors and

the ṛtvijs are at the base of this chain. The sacrifice is based upon the holy scriptures. The holy scriptures are based upon the speech. The speech is based upon the mind; mind on the vital air (prāṇa); the vital air on the food; the food on the earth; the earth on the waters; the waters on the light; the light on the wind; the wind on the air (ākāśa); the air on the brahman and the brahman on the learned ṛtvijs (GB I.1.37-38). Cp.also AB II.32, "On the priest the whole sacrifice is based, on sacrifice of the sacrificer." AB VII.19, "Sacrifice finds its support in holy power (brahman) and on the Brāhmaṇas". In the absence of the ṛtvijs the sacrifice remains empty and if qualified ṛtvijs are chosen, then many good results like jiti, viṇiti, saṁjiti are obtained (GB I.2.8.4). The ṛtvijs are the officiants of the sacrifice. They prosper the sacrifice, they spread it, they generate it (ŚB I. 8.1.28).

Ṛtvijs often stand as limbs of the sacrifice. Thus it is said that there are three limbs of the sacrifice namely the adhvaryu, the hotṛ, and the brahman (TB I.8.6.6). If the ṛtvijs creeping for the Bahiṣpavamāna let loose their hold of the former ṛtviḥ, then various limbs of the sacrifice are damaged as it were (TMB VI.7.13-15; JB I.85). A long metaphor is drawn in KB AVII.7 where the respective

positions of the respective ṛtvijs in the body of the sacrifice are described. Thus the brāhmanācchamsin is its mind, the udgātr is its expiration, the prastor is its inspiration, the pratihartr is its cross-breathing, the hotr its speech, the adhvaryu its eye, the sadasya its generation organ, the sacrificer the body and the hotrakas its limbs.

The sacrificer and the ṛtvijs :

The sacrificer is the producer of the sacrifice and it is by his order that the ṛtvijs spread the sacrifice (ŚB I.9.1.2). After selecting the divine priests the sacrificer selects the human priests and then they work (ŚaṅB II.10.3).

It is in the hands of the priests to do good or bad of the sacrificer.¹³ Thus, for example, if the adhvaryu desires that the sacrificer should be devoid of cattle, he removes the calves (in the New-moon-sacrifice) with a branch

13 On the priestly magical power against the sacrificer see Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice, p.128; Oldenberg, weltanschauung, p.131; Keith, RPV, p.379; Gonda, Religionen Indiens, I, p.175; on the priests and magic cf. Frazer, Golden Bough, p.52.

(of palāśa) which has no leaves and the end of which is dry.

But if he desires that the sacrificer should get cattle, he removes them with a branch, having many leaves and sub-branches. (TB II.2.1.2). AB III.2 describes the power of hotṛ in connection with the Praugaśastra, "If he desires of a man, 'let me deprive him of expiration', he should recite (the triplet) to Vāyu for him in confusion; a verse or line he should pass over; thereby it is confused.

Verily thus does he deprive him of expiration. If he desires of a man, 'Let me deprive him of expiration and inspiration' he should recite for him (the triplet) to Indra and Vāyu in confusion; he should pass over a verse or line; thereby is it confused; verily thus he deprives him of expiration and inspiration. If he desires of a man, 'Let me deprive him of the eye', he should recite for him (the triplet) to Mitra and Varuṇa in confusion; he should pass over a verse or line; thereby is it confused; verily thus he deprives him of the eye. If he desires of a man, 'Let me deprive him of the ear', he should recite for him (the triplet) to the Aśvins in confusion; he should pass over a verse or a line; thereby is it confused; verily thus he deprives him of the ear. If he desires of a man, 'Let me deprive him of strength', he should recite for him (the triplet) to Indra in confusion; he should pass over a

verse or line; thereby is it confused; verily thus he deprives him of strength. If he desires of a man, 'Let me deprive him of limbs', he should recite for him (the triplet) to the Viśvedevas in confusion; he should pass over a verse or line; thereby is it confused; verily thus he deprives him of limbs. If he, desires of a man, 'Let me deprive him of speech', he should recite for him (the triplet) to Sarasvatī in confusion; he should pass over a verse or a line; thereby is it confused; verily he deprives him of speech. But if he desires of a man, 'with all his members, with all his self, let me make him prosper' verily let him recite for him thus in due and proper order; verily thus he makes him prosper with all his members with all his self. Thus the hotṛ can do good or bad to the sacrificer.

The sacrificer has to surmise according to the loss, what ṛtvij has been against him - if he looses his cattle, he has to understand that the adhvaryu is the cause. If he gets bad reputation it is due to the hotṛ. If the acquisition and maintenance of his property are affected, it must be due to the brahman and if he loses his self or his offspring it is due to the udgātṛ (ṢaḍB II.9.1). It is also shown how the priests place the sacrificer in the state of bliss (ŚB II.2.2.7) or how after having kept him in the mystic word om they lead him to the heaven (JUB IV.

4.5.7)). The priests make for the sacrificer another body in the form of ~~the sacrificer in the form~~ of the sacrifice (ŚB IV.3.4.5). They are the supporters of the sacrificer who performs the twelve-day sacrifice (AB IV.25). GB II. 2.4 says that the priests are the friends of the sacrificer.

The sacrificer suffers due to the mistakes made, of course, inadvertently, by the priests during the performance of the sacrifice. When the hotṛ through ignorance falls short of his task, the voice leaves the sacrificer; when the adhvaryu falls short, the eye leaves, and so on. But if they do their work in a good manner then these things (which have left him) are re-obtained by the sacrificer (ŚaḍB II.8.1-8).

It is, upto now, shown that due to the priests the sacrificer gets something good or bad. But elsewhere the brāhmaṇa-texts maintain that the result of the sacrifice - whether good or bad - is obtained by the priests as well as the sacrificer. Though the brāhmaṇa-texts also say that all the blessings are for the sacrificer alone (ŚB I.3.1.26; 9.1.21),¹⁴ the sacrificer is elsewhere identified with the body of the sacrifice (ŚB I.4.5.2.16; KB XVII.7) and the priests are the said to be the limbs (ŚB I.4.5.2.16). It is

14 Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p.372.

further said that wherever the limbs, there is the body; and wherever the body, there are the limbs. Therefore, both (the priests and the sacrificer) go to the same world (ŚB I.5.2.16).¹⁵ Thus it is implied that the result, whether good, bad or indifferent, is obtained by both the priests and the sacrificer. By means of depositing the upāśugraha both the adhvaryu and the sacrificer live long (ŚB IV.1.1.17). If the burning coals fall down to various directions the sacrificer, his wife and the priests are variously shown to get bad results (TB III.7.2.5-6). It will appear that there is no firm position in the Brāhmaṇas as regards who gets the result of the sacrifice. For sometimes it is said that the priests hold the power, to do good or bad, of the sacrificer and sometimes it is said that both get the results together. It is also further indicated that as both the sacrificer and the priests will get the same results the priests would not harm the sacrificer by performing the sacrifice wrongly either intentionally or due to negligence.

The relations between the sacrificer of the warrior class (kṣatriya) and the priests who are of the Brāhmaṇa-class

15 For the priests and the sacrificer as limbs and body cf. v. Nagelein, JAOS, 34, p.261.

are not, from the view-point of the Brāhmaṇa-texts, hostile. When in the Rājasūya the adhvaryu declares, "O Bharatas, this is your King, and of us, the Brāhmaṇas, is the soma king" (TB I.7.4.2;6.1;ŚB V.3.3.12;4.2.3) a kind of priestly supremacy and priestly escape from the kingly power may appear at the first sight. But Heesterman's explanation of this point deserves considering. The soma is not only the king of the Brāhmaṇas, but of the whole cosmos. The Brāhmaṇas represent the brahman-power which has a distinct bearing on fertility and growth. The soma pressed and offered in the sacrifice is the soma as the king soma whose realm is recognised in the universal fertility process. "Soma's kingship over the Brahmins is an exact reflexion in the sacrificial microcosm of his universal kingship over the macrocosmic fertility process"¹⁶ Thus there is no supremacy or escape of the Brāhmaṇas from the rule of the kṣatriyas. In this respect it is important to see that JB II.119 calls the priests the subjects of the sacrificer. So the priests are naturally the subjects of the Kṣatriya sacrificer or of the king-sacrificer also. JB I.287 says that a Kṣatriya should not

16 Heesterman, Consecration, p.75 f.

hate a Brāhmaṇa and a Brāhmaṇa should not hate Kṣatriya.¹⁷

This rule can clearly express what relations the Brāhmaṇa-texts expect from the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas.

Qualities of the priests :

a) Knowledge and study :

The priests must be well-versed and learned. This is the chief qualification. The importance of learned priests is emphasized in various ways. The objection that one should not sacrifice with the Vājapeya at all, for thereby one would win Prajāpati who is everything and then nothing would be left for ~~one's~~ offsprings and ~~the~~ offsprings would be worse - is refuted by saying that the priests there, should be learned and efficient and then there would be no harm. For that is the perfection of the sacrifice when the wise priests assist the sacrificer in performing the sacrifice (ŚB V.1.1.9-10).¹⁸ As one offers in kindled fire so does one offer the gift which one gives to a learned priest and, therefore, one who is learned in the scripture need not assign the gift to any deity (ŚB IV.3.4.33).

17 For the struggle between the priests and the sacrificer in general, see G. van der Leeuw, RLM, p.218f.

18 For the rtvijs who are learned etc. see Gonda, The Rgvidhāna, p.47 (note 15.3); for the importance of learning in connection with the priests in general see James, Priesthood, p.208ff.

The Aśvamedha is everything and he who whilst being a Brāhmaṇa, knows naught of the Aśvamedha, knows naught of anything, he is not a Brāhmaṇa and as such he is liable to be despoiled (ŚB XIII.4.2.17). The learned priests are called the human deities (ŚB II.2.2.6; IV.3.4.6; ŚaṅB I.1.28; GB II.1.6). Kāṭhaka-brāhmaṇa XVIII says that whatever deities there are they live in the priest who knows the veda. "One who has studied the veda they call 'the Ṛṣi's treasure-warden (ṛṣīṇām nidhigopaḥ)'" (ŚB I.9.2.3). The importance of study of the veda is very effectively told by ŚB AI.5.7.10 - "Moving indeed are the waters, moving is the sun, moving the moon, and moving the stars; and verily as if these deities did not move and act, even so will the Brāhmaṇa be on that day on which he does not study his lesson : therefore, one's (daily) lesson should be studied. And hence let him at least pronounce either a ṛgverse or a yajus-formula or a sāmanverse or a gāthā or a kumbyā to ensure continuity of the veda."¹⁹

b) Pure conduct, pure descent :

The priests are expected to be pure in their conduct²⁰ and pure in descent.²¹ As we desire to drink from pure and

19 On the importance of study see Gonda, Change and Continuity p.203.

20 cf. Gonda, Change and Continuity, p.203.

21 cf. Weber, Indische Studien, I, 145.

clean vessel so also the Gods desire to drink by means of pure Brāhmaṇas. (JB I.282). He is also expected to be of pure descent. See in this context the story of Kavaṣa Ailūṣa who was discarded as "a son of a slave woman" (AB II. 19; KB ΔII.3). A priest from a good family (ārṣeya) is identical with all the deities (ŚB ΔII.4.4.7). It is, however, noteworthy that dakṣiṇās are also prescribed to be given to one whose family is not known and to one who is not learned (TMB ΔΔ.15.10-11; GB II.3.17).

c) Mutual Co-operation :

Mutual co-operation of the priests was an essential factor. The importance of the Tānūnaptra-rite is to be understood in this direction. Gods had discord among them and they put their favourite forms in the house of Varuṇa. Priests also lay down their favourite forms together in the performance of the Tānūnaptra-rite. One should not do any treachery to one united by the Tānūnaptra (AB I.29; ŚB III. 4.2.1ff). ŚB I.5.2.15 tells us the importance of the mutual understanding as follows - where the officiant priests perform the sacrifice with a perfect mutual understanding there everything works regularly and no hitch occurs. ŚB I.5.2.19 says ~~that~~ - where the officiant priests perform the sacrifice with a perfect mutual understanding there it will indeed rain.

Importance and Exaltation of the Brāhmaṇas in general :

We have seen how the individual priests are exalted; now we shall see how the Brāhmaṇas in general are exalted and their importance emphasized. We have already referred to the fact that the Brāhmaṇas are called human Gods.²² There are two kinds of Gods; the Gods are Gods and the Gods in human form are the priests (ŚB II.2.2.6; IV.4.1; ŚaṅB I.1.28; GB II.1.6). Thus the priests are exalted as the human gods. TB I.4.4.2 and 4 identify a Brāhmaṇa with all the deities (brāhmaṇo vai sarvā devatāḥ). Kāthakabrāhmaṇa ΔVIII tells us that all the deities live in a veda-knowing brāhmaṇa. Therefore, to such Brāhmaṇas one should pay homage everyday and one should not speak ill of them.

In the evening of the day preceeding the Agnyādheya a ricepap is prepared for the four priests. The purpose of this is according to some to gratify the metres. This view is rejected and it is stated that the result of gratifying the metres can be obtained by mere residence of the brāhmaṇas - may they be officiant priests or not - in his family (ŚB II.1.4.4). This shows how merely the

22 For Brāhmaṇas as Gods see Oldenberg, Weltanschauung, p.10; G.van der Leeuw, REM, p.220; Gonda, Change and Continuity, p.203.

residence of the Brāhmaṇas also was exalted. Cp. in this context Kāṭhaka-brāhmaṇa I.5. where it is said, "One who is going to establish fire should not prevent in the evening (preceeding to the day of establishment) a Brāhmaṇa who has come along with the Sun as a guest. The Sun indeed enters a Brāhmaṇa in the evening. After prescribing details about the place of the sacrifice, it is said that the officiant priests themselves constitute the place of the sacrifice. Wheresoever wise and learned priests, versed in sacred lore, perform the sacrifice, there no failure takes place and that place is considered to be nearest to the Gods. (ŚB III.1.1.5). Again the place seen by such wise priests is acceptable to the Gods (ŚB III.1.1.11) If there is no fire available for the Agnihotra one can offer it on the hand of the Brāhmaṇa according to ŚaṅB IV. 1.12 and this implies that a Brāhmaṇa is as great as Agni. TB II.1.4.5 identifies the Brāhmaṇa with Agni Vaiśvānara. Elsewhere the Brāhmaṇas are identified with Āditya and it is said further that when the Brāhmaṇas are satisfied, they allow the sacrificer to the heaven (TB I.1.9.8f). Importance is found given to the satisfaction of the Brāhmaṇas in ŚB I.7.3.28: - The sacrifice said, "I am afraid of thirst". "How art thou satiated?" "May I satiate myself after the priest has been satiated"(ŚB I. 7.3.28).

The rules such as one should not speak ill of the brāhmaṇas (KB VI.4; cf. Kāṭhaka-brāhmaṇa ΔVIII referred to above) show how great honour was given to the brāhmaṇas. It is also said that one should not discuss and think about whether a priest is deserving or not (TMB VI.5.9). His speech is to be followed with respect (GB I.1.25). Thus we can realise the height to which the priests have been exalted in the Brāhmaṇa period.

Bad Priests :

It must, however, be said to the credit of the brāhmaṇa-texts that they do not ignore or hide the bad aspect of the priests. Though it is said that one should not think or discuss about the deservingness of a priest (TMB VI.5.9), it is merely an exaltation of the priests in general. One has to take into consideration the good qualities of a priest and be sure that one avoids the bad priests. AB III.46 describes three kinds of errors possible due to the selection of bad priests. These errors are figuratively called "eaten", "swallowed" and "vomitted". "When the sacrificer chooses a priest who expects "May he give me or may he choose me", that is like something eaten. That does not profit the sacrificer. Again what is swallowed is when fearing he chooses a priest, "Let him not either oppress me nor let him make confusion in the sacrifice for me!"

That is something swallowed. That does not profit the sacrificer. What is vomitted is that when he chooses as priest one who is spoken ill of. Just as men are disgusted by what is vomited, the Gods are disgusted by such priests. That also does not profit the sacrificer. Thus the Brāhmaṇa-texts are aware of the bad priests and they prescribe to avoid them. Elsewhere it is said that when there are unskilled priests having bad conduct that is a harm to the sacrifice. When the sacrifice is harmed, then the sacrificer is also harmed, then the priests are harmed; then the sacrificer loses his offspring and cattle and then he loses his heaven (GB I.1.13).

Looseness of the brāhmaṇa-texts :

The Brāhmaṇa-texts are not scientific texts; rather they represent prescientific science of the sacrifice. Therefore, the looseness in the Brāhmaṇa-texts is not very difficult to point out. The descriptions of the priests whether individual or in general are scattered and it is for us to collect them together and try to get a comprehensive view. As some examples of their looseness we can note that the adhvaryu is identified with the mind by ŚB AII.1.1.5 but elsewhere the brahman (ṣaḍB II.6.2), the maitrāvaruṇa (AB II.5;28; ŚB AII.8.2.23) and the hotṛ (TB II.1.5.9) are also identified with the mind. The hotṛ is elsewhere

identified with the voice of the sacrificer (AB II.5.28) and still elsewhere the prastotṛ is identified with the same (ŚB IV.2.5.3). Udgātṛ being connected with Prajāpati represents the male element but elsewhere it is also stated, in a mystical manner, that he does the work of a woman (ŚB XIV.3.1.35). We have already described that there is no fixed position about who - whether the sacrificer alone or both the sacrificer and the priests obtain the results of the sacrifice.

Conclusion :

From what has been said so far we may be justified in making the following points about the priests in the Brāhmaṇa-texts -

- 1) They are very essential for the sacrifice and their importance is exalted in various ways particularly by identifying them with the Gods.
- 2) The Brāhmaṇa-texts, however, do not neglect the bad priests and they expressly say that such priests are to be avoided.
- 3) The priests are expected to possess high qualities such as knowledge, good conduct, etc. They are expected to have good relations with the sacrificer, so much so that

they are sometimes said to be his limbs. No hatred or quarrel was expected between the Kṣatriya sacrificer (e.g. the king) and the priests.

4) The large number of priests, their various duties, etc. show the grown up, developed, ritualism; but the emphasis laid on the "knowledge" shows how the spiritualism is also finding its place side by side with ritualism.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RESULT OF THE SACRIFICE ACCORDING TO THE BRĀHMAṆA-TEXTS

Introduction :

Prayojanam anuddīśya na mando'pi pravartate is a dictum according to which even a foolish person does not perform any action without any purpose. Similar is the following verse -

Sarvasyāpi hi śāstrasya karmaṇo vāpi kasyacit / yāvat prayojanamṁ noktaṁ tāvat tat kena grhyate (Ślokavārtika, I.12)

- Unless the purpose of any science or of any action is told who will accept it ? In the Brāhmaṇa-texts we find that this human nature is taken into consideration. The sacrificer wants to gain various objects. A dutch proverb rightly runs "Nood leert bidden" (Necessity teaches to pray). The necessities of the sacrificer induce him to perform the sacrifice and pray. The sacrificer is everywhere assured of the result of the action which is being done.

Who obtains the result ?

In a majority of the cases, it is an individual that obtains the result. The sacrificial sessions (sattra) are, however, said to be performed by many persons jointly and, therefore, all the persons get the due result. JB III.234

refers to a custom of ancient time when different persons with different desires used to perform the sacrificial session (nānakāmā ha sma vai purā sattram āsate) and they used to get their various desires satisfied (ha sma nānaiva kāmān rddhvāptvottiṣṭhanti).^{te}

The prayer made in the course of the Aśvamedha is, however, interesting wherein even though the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya classes are mentioned predominantly, public welfare in general is desired.¹ "In the priestly office (brahman) may the Brāhmaṇa be born, endowed with brahman-lustre. In the royal order may the Rājanya be born, heroic, skilled in archery, sure of his mark, and a mighty car-fighter. The milch cow. The drought ox. The swift racer. The well favoured woman. The victorious warrior. The blithful youth. May a hero be born unto the sacrificer. May Parjanya rain for us whensoever we list. May our fruit-bearing plants ripen. May security of possession be assured for us." (VS XXII.22; ŚB XIII.2.1.1ff).

Food and Nourishment :

Food and nourishment (annādya) is said to be the result

1 cp. Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p.370; the same, Weltanschauung, p. 200.

of many rites. One gets food if one turns to south with the libations and fore offerings (prayājas)(AB I.11). The main result of the Vājapeya² is said to be the food and drink (ŚB V.1.3.3). By means of the Sarvamedha sacrifice also one gets food (ŚB XIII.7.1.2). In connection with the Vasordhārā rite which is performed in the course of fire-building ceremony the cyclic movement of food is explained. From the sacrificer the ghee which is offered in the fire goes to the Gods. From the Gods it goes to the cow and from the cow it is reobtained by the sacrificer. Thus circulates this never-ending food (ŚB IX.3.3.17).

Off-springs :

To get food off-springs is another result which is obtained by performing many acts. The purpose of the patnī-saṁyājas is to get off-springs (KB III.9). In the Vājapeya both the Surāgrahas and Somagrahas are drawn. The Somagrahas represent the male and the Surāgrahas represent the female element. This becomes a productive pair and it helps to obtain progeny (TB I.1.2.3-4). One who performs the Sattra of Śāktyas gets ten sons (TMB XXV.7.4). By performing the

2 Cf. my paper "A propos of the Vājapeya" JUPHS, 29, (1968), p. 31ff and the literature there.

Trisamvatsara-sattra one thousand songs are obtained (TMB XV.16.3). Those who want that their progeny should be desirous of giving they should establish their fires on the Pūrve Falgunī (TB I.1.2.3-4). Again if any one desires that ^{one's} ~~the~~ son's son should be lustrous, one should use the Rathantara Prṣṭha on the basis of the verses of Vāmadeva (TMB XV.10.7).

Cattle :

To possess a large number of cattle was a sign of wealthiness. Many of the sacrificial rites lead to the obtainment of cattle. One who ^{is} desirous of getting cattle has to turn to the western side while offering the Prayājas (AB I.11). After the Agnihotra has been offered, water is sprinkled for one who desires cattle (TB II.1.3.2-3). By means of the offering of rice of Priyāṇagu boiled in milk to Rudra and Ārdrā one gets cattle (TB II.1.4.4). The Mārgīyava sāmān is called paśavya i.e. which helps for obtaining animals. One who uses it gets possession of both kinds of cattle, viz., the village-cattle as well as the forest-animals (JB III.211). Similarly, the use of Naipātitha sāmān (JB III.220), Vaiyaśva sāmān (JB III.221) Pramāhiṣṭhīya sāmān (JB III.225) etc. leads to the obtainment of cattle. The animals are likely to be injured by Rudra in the form of Agni which is being established. Sāmpriyaḥ paśubhirbhavat - These words are uttered for keeping the cattle's security intact (ahimsāyai)³ (TB I.1.8.4).

3 On the word ahimsā see Gonda, Four studies, p.95 ff.

Year-gaining :

Many times the result of a sacrificial action is told to be the gaining of the year (samvatsara). The purpose of the Cāturmāsya-sacrifices is said to be to obtain the year (ŚB II.6.3.1; TB I.4.10.1ff). By means of the prāyaṇīya day in the Gavamayana ceremony one is said to gain the year (TMB IV.2.6).

The year is connected with the fertility, ripening of the crops, pregnancy⁴ etc.; see for example JB II.303, 307 where we read "The year ripens all food and nourishment (samvatsarah kṛtsnam annādyam pacati)". Similarly, "the animals are born after a year (samvatsaram anu paśav upra-jāyante)" (TMB XVIII.4.11). Thus, the year-gaining ultimately stands for the gaining of food, cattle, etc.

Victory :

Victory is desired and some sacrificial rites are performed to obtain it. The earthen utensils used in the sacrificial performance helps the sacrificer to get victory over this world (TB I.4.1.4). By means of an offering to Vaisve-devas and Aṣādhās one gets victory and one will never

4 cf. Heerterman, Consecration, p. 28f.

be defeated (TB III.1.5.5). The Goṣṭoma sacrifice makes one victorious (TMB XX.6.1). One offers to Yama and Apabharanīś and gets the Kingdom of people of his own Kind (TB III 1.5.14).

Enemies are an obstacle in the achievement of prosperity. Therefore, some efforts are made to remove or overcome them. By means of the establishment of fires on the constellation Citrā, one scatters the enemies of the sacrificer (TB I.1.2.4-6). At the time of the preparation of Vedi, one takes sphya (a wooden utensil) and should think of one's enemy. Thereby that enemy is endowed with sorrow (TB III. 2.9.15). The performance of Sākamedha is useful to slay the enemy and gain victory (ŚB II.5.3.1). By means of the Mahāhaviryāga also, the same fruit is obtained (ŚB II.5.4.1). The Vaṣaṭkāra which is made loudly and forcibly is the thunderbolt (vajra). By using this kind of Vaṣaṭkāra, the enemy is laid low (AB III.7). The bricks named Asapatneṣṭakās are used in the Fire-building in order that the enemies should be removed (ŚB VIII.5.1.7). By means of the Darśapūrṇamāsa one gets all that belongs to enemy. From these examples, it will be seen that the sacrifice was supposed to be a very effective means of defeating or removing the enemy and even for getting hold of his possessions.

Prosperity :

Prosperity is assured to be obtained by performing certain rites. Sacrificer desirous of prosperity (Śrī)⁵ should sacrifice with the Indrastoma (JB II.140). The performance of Saptarṣīṇām Saptarātra results in increase, success, abundance etc. (rddhi)⁶ (TMB XXII.4.2). Those who perform the sattrā named Trayodaśarātra prosper in every respect (TMB XXIII.1.5). The performance of Ekonatrimśadrātra Sattrā leads the sacrificer to endless prosperity (TMB XXIII.25.1).

Fame :

Fame is obtained by means of certain rites. In the Yamanakṣatreṣṭis if offering is offered to Viṣṇu and Śroṇa, good fame is obtained and there is no fear or danger of one's ever being defamed (TB III.1.5.7). By using the sacrificial place named puṇya for the performance of Āśvamedha, one gets good fame (TB III.8.1.2). If one is defamed due to killing a Brāhmaṇa, that defame is removed by the performance of the Trivṛt Agniṣṭoma (TMB XVII.5.1ff).

5 For the word śrī cf. Gonda, Viṣṇuism, p.183 ff.

6 For rddhi cf. Gonda, Viṣṇuism, p.195.

Sins are removed :

Man is afraid of the bad consequences of one's mistakes, or sins. If the burning coals fall before the Prayājas are offered, then the adhvaryu and the sacrificer will get sorrow (TB III.7.2.ff). Bad consequences like this are removed by means of Prāyāścittis. Apart from such Prāyāścittis there are certain other rites also by means of which all kinds of sins are removed. Agnihotra makes the sacrificer free from sins. (ŚB II.3.1.6). The performance of Sautrāmaṇi makes one free from all sins (ŚB XII.8.1.16). The Āśvamedha sacrifice is also said to yield the same result (ŚB XIII.8.1.16). ŚB XIII.3.1.1 says that the performer of the Āśvamedha gets rid of all sins and adds that he also gets rid of bad consequences of the killing of a Brāhmaṇa. Agniṣṭut can remove the various sins when used in various ways. Thus, the Trivṛd Agniṣṭut removes the sins done with the mouth. The use of Pañcadaśa Agniṣṭut removes the sin done with the arms. By means of Saptadaśa Agniṣṭut the sin done by the belly is removed. The Ekaviṃśa Agniṣṭut removes the sin done by the feet. But according to some the Jyotiṣṭoma Agniṣṭoma alone can remove all these kinds of sins (JB II.135).

Superiority :

If one wants to get superiority over all, one should sacrifice with the Puruṣamedha (ŚB XIII.6.1.1). For whom the

Atigrāha cups are drawn he becomes superior (ŚB IV.5.4.2). For whom the Śoḍśigraha is drawn, everything is beneath him and he stands forth over everything (ŚB IV.5.3.2). By drawing the Mahimagrahas one becomes great (ŚB XIII.5.11.1). By establishing fires on Kṛttikā constellations one obtains brahman-lustre and becomes the chief of the people (TB I.1.2.1). The performance of Dvādaśāha helps the sacrificer to get his seniority and superiority admitted (AB IV.25). The sacrificer offering pap of Śyāmāka in milk to Soma and Mṛgaśīrṣa obtains kingdom of his equivalents (TB III.1.4.3). Similarly by offering pap to Bhaga and Phalgunī the sacrificer becomes the possessor of good luck (bhagī) and the best among his people (TB III.1.4.10).

Some miscellaneous results :

In the Brāhmaṇa-texts there are so many results told that it is almost futile to attempt their classification. Many miscellaneous results are told to be obtained. Thus for example by means of Bṛhaspatisava one gets purohitaship (TB II.7.1.2; TMB XV.1.7; JB II.124). One becomes firm (dr̥ḍha) and ~~light~~ (asithila) by offering a cake of black rice to ^{Vā}~~Va~~ṇṇa Śatabhiṣaj and Bheṣajas (TB III.1.5.9). One who sacrifices with Vājapeya becomes purified, worthy for sacrifice (medhya) and deserves for dakṣiṇās (TB I.3.3.7). One obtains favour of God by using Vasiṣṭha's sāman (TMB XII.

12.8). One who desires to obtain rain should use the Saubhara s̄aman (TMB VIII.8.8).

Safe and secure life :

But for all kinds of enjoyments one requires safe and secure life which is provided by some rites. The use of vasatīvarī water is protection (ŚB III.9.2.5). The result of Śataradriya offering is appeasement of Rudra and gratifying him so that he may not injure (ŚB IX.1.1.17). In the Pravargya-mantras the hotṛ starts with a verse addressed to Savitr̥. He then gets instigation from Savitr̥ and to one instigated by Savitr̥ there is no possibility of injury (KB VIII.3). One consumes the remaining part of the Agnihotra offering. That is for the purpose protecting oneself (TB II. 1.8.4).

Pratiṣṭhā (firm establishment) :

Many rites give the sacrificer firm establishment (pratiṣṭhā). Pratiṣṭhā suggests the ideas of stability and protection against any impediments. It is very much essential for any kind of well being or happiness.⁷ Gonda has rightly remarked that for the ancient Indians and for many other

7 Gonda, Loka, p. 31.

peoples the concept of firm establishment was important.⁸

The offering made to Ahi Budhniya and Proṣṭhapadas can give Pratiṣṭhā on this earth (TB III.1.5.11). The offering to Aditi also gives Pratiṣṭhā on this earth (TB III.1.6.6). The third Caturdaśarātra sacrifice gives Pratiṣṭhā to the sacrificer (TMB XXIII.5.4). The Pratiṣṭhā is not merely being firmly established but suggests the normal or right condition, prosperity success etc. and, therefore, Pratiṣṭhā was an important result which the sacrificer desires to get.

Long Life etc. :

Long life, a full measure of life etc. are desired by the sacrificer, for, it is essential to get long life for enjoyment of the worldly things. By establishing the fires one places the immortal element in his innermost soule and thereby one obtains full measure of life (ŚB II.2.2.14). The performance of Devānām Navarātra sacrifice results in man's obtaining full measure of life. (TMB XXII.12.1-3). By means of the performance of Sarpasattra untimely death is removed (TMB XXV.15.4). Untimely old agedness is removed by means of the Sahasrasamvatsarasattra (TMB XXV.17.3).

8 Gonda, "Pratiṣṭhā" Samjñyavyākaraṇa, 1954, p.7, 15 etc.

To have the healthy life is important. If one wishes to die and go to other world while his body is without any disease, one can perform the Sarvasvāra sacrifice (TMB XVII. 12.1). The Cāturmāsya sacrifices are called "the medicinal sacrifices (bhaiṣajyayaññah)" (KB V.1; GB II.1.19) and they also result in giving health to the sacrificer and the members of his family. The Aisira sāman is called medicine (bheṣaja) and, therefore, is curing one (JB III.227).

Amṛtatva, immortality also becomes the result of many rites. Immortality is the general result of ^{any} sacrificial session. (ŚB IV.6.9.12). The Paśubandha gives immortal life to the sacrificer (ŚB XI.7.1.3). The performance of Agnihotra confers upon the sacrificer immortality (JB I.2).

In the Brāhmaṇa-texts the limitations of the immortality are sometimes mentioned. Thus according to TMB XXII.12.2 "This is man's immortality, that he reaches the normal term of life and that he becomes wealthier (etad vāva manuṣyasyāmṛtatvam yat sarvam āyur eti vasiyān bhavati)". According to ŚB II.2.2.14, there is no hope for being immortal in the case of men. Therefore, one can have full life (nāmṛtatvāśāsti sarvam āyur eti)⁹.

9 On amṛtatva as equal to the long life see Oldenberg, Weltanschauung, p.204. Gonda, Religionen Indiens, I.p. 196f; for the connection of sacrifice and immortality see Lévi, doctrine, p.93ff. Hubert, Mauss, "Sacri" p.102.

One, however, wins over the death in all the worlds by offering the offerings to death (Mṛtyu) in the course of Aśvamedha. (ŚB XIII.3.5.1; TB III.9.15.1).

Winning the other worlds :

We have seen so far the results generally connected with this world. There are some results which are connected with the other worlds. Thus the Agnihotra is said to be the ship leading towards the heaven (ŚB II.3.3.15). The heaven is said in general to be the result of the sacrifice (ŚB VIII.6.1.10)¹⁰. The utensils made of wood are helpful to lead the sacrificer to the heaven (TB I.4.1.4). The word svar becomes the finale (nidhana) of the Ilānda sāmān and the result of this is that the sacrificer becomes a bird and goes to heaven (TMB V.3.5). ŚB I.9.3.1 and IV.3.4.6 describe how the sacrificer goes to the heaven. First the sacrifice reaches the world of Gods. The dakṣiṇā given by the sacrificer follows that sacrifice. The sacrificer follows the dakṣiṇā and then reaches the heaven - the world of Gods.

Sometimes instead of directly mentioning heaven, only the other world is mentioned as the result. In the Aśvamedha,

10 For the idea of gaining heaven (svarga) as equal to gaining the light see Gonda, Loka, p.73ff.

for the animal sacrifices both the Grāmya and Āraṇya victims are brought. By means of the Grāmya victims one wins this world¹¹ and by means of Āraṇya victims one wins the other world (TB III.9.2). The world of Fathers is also obtained as a result of a sacrificial rite. One who gives a cake on six potsherds to the Fathers and Maghās prospers in the world of Fathers (TB III.1.4.8). By means of the Saptadaśa Agniṣṭoma the sacrificer obtains the world of bulls (anaduho lokam āpnoti) (TMB XVIII.3.3). Then another result of the same sacrifice is told, viz., one gets brilliant (jyotiṣmantam) and lucky (punyam) world (TMB XVIII.3.4).

All desires are fulfilled :

Sometimes all desires are said to be fulfilled by means of a sacrificial rite. The result of Dvādaśāha with transposed metres is that all the desires of the sacrificer are fulfilled thereby (AB IV.27; TMB X.5.14). Everything is obtained by those who perform a long sacrificial session (ŚB IV.5.1.12). By means of the Cāturmāsya sacrifices (KB VI.15; GB II.1.26), by means of the Vājapeya (ŚB V.1.1.8),

11 For idea of winning this world as equal to gain safety and security etc. cf. Gonda, Loka, p.62.

by means of the Puruṣamedha (ŚB XIII.6.1.1) and by means of the Agniṣṭoma (TMB VI.3.2) everything is obtained. By means of the Viśvajit sacrifice (TMB XVI.15.4) also everything is obtained.

Different sacrificial rites for different desires :

Different sacrificial rites are prescribed for different desires. Various small iṣṭis which are famous as kāmyeṣṭis are to be performed for various results (for such kāmyeṣṭis see for example - TB III.1.4.1ff). Even in the same rite details may change according to the desire. The matter by means of which yūpa is made, varies^e according to the sacrificer's desire. Thus, for example, if the sacrificer wants to go to the heaven, it is to be made of Khādīra wood. If he wants to get food, it is to be made of Bilva wood and if he desires to get brilliance it is to be made of Palāśa wood (AB II.1). The exact time of offering in the Agnihotra performance differs according to the desire. When it is kindled and there is as yet nothing but smoke, then any one desiring food like Rudra seeking creatures may offer. When it is in full blaze any one desiring food like Varuṇa seeking creatures may offer. When it is in full blaze any one desiring to be like Indra may offer and so on (ŚB II.3.2.9ff). The normal offering material at Agnihotra is milk of a cow.

But for one desirous of heaven milk of two cows should be offered; for one desirous of brilliance the Agnihotra is offered with Ājya and so on (TB II.1.5.4-5).

Plurality of causes and plurality of results :

The Brāhmaṇa-texts are not certainly the scientific treatises; on the contrary they represent as Oldenberg has very appropriately described the "Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft"¹². We, therefore, in the Brāhmaṇa-texts do not always find the "one cause one result" situation. We have given above the examples (with some exceptions) of how for the same result various rites are to be performed. We also see that the same rite can lead to various results. Agnihotra at one place is said to be removing evils (ŚB II.3.1.6), at another to be giving freedom from death (ŚB II.3.3.7-10), at another to be the ship leading to the heavenly world (ŚB II.3.3.15). Mitravindā iṣṭi¹³ helps to get friend as well as to conquer the recurring death, to gain all life (ŚB XI.4.3.20). Once it is said that one who has enemies should sacrifice with

12 See the title page of Oldenberg, Weltanschauung, cf. also Winternitz, HIL, p.163 n.1, who, however, wants to call Brāhmaṇas "priestly psuedo-science".

13 On this offering see Gonda, Ancient Indian Kingship, p.52.

Sautrāmaṇi (ŚB XII.7.3.4) but it is also said that one who being fit to gain prosperity or being fit to get cattle does not get prosperity or cattle sacrifice with Sautrāmaṇi (ŚB XII.7.2.1-2). The Śāktyānam sattrā is said to give all kinds of prosperity. Then it is said that it can give autocracy (svārājya) and then it is said that it gives ten heroic sons (TMB XXV.7.2-4). Thus it can be clear how the same rite leads to the plurality of results.¹⁴

Activistic, Optimistic, Positive outlook :

When we look towards the numerous results and the numerous sacrificial rites we at once come to know how the Brāhmaṇa-texts have a very activistic, optimistic and positive outlook towards the world. The sacrificer in the Brāhmaṇa-texts is full of various desires and generally able to do the sacrificial rites required for satisfying those desires. The views of the Brāhmaṇa-texts upon the desire (Kāma) are very significant and illustrative. The Kāma is said to be like sea. There is no end to the sea and there is no end to the desire (Kāma) (TB II.2.5.6.)¹⁵ But this simile is not meant

14 cf. Gonda, Change and Continuity, p.372; for the magical ceremonies, prayers etc. serving for many functions, see Hubert, Mauss, "Sacri", p.133.

15 cf. Oldenberg, Weltanschauung, p.198.

to advise man for retiring from the desires; on the contrary for encouraging him to possess various desires and to get them satisfied by means of the sacrifice. One may have as many desires as one can. It is never too much in desires (na vai kāmānām atiriktam asti) (ŚB VIII.7.2.19; IX.4.2.28; 3.15; 5.1.40). Thus, for example, it is maintained that any additional oblation may be offered (after the Santatihoma in the Fire-building ceremony) provided that it has any "explanation", "reasoning" etc. (Brāhmaṇa).¹⁶ Then an objection is raised that there is likely in that case the defect of "being too much (atirikta)". But the answer is given that there is nothing excessive or too much in the desires and one may offer oblations with any special desire if one feels to do so (ŚB IX.4.2.27-28). It is, however, important to take into consideration that some explanation or reasoning (Brāhmaṇa) for any result is expected. This will show how the intellectual side along with the practical side some progress was made in the Brāhmaṇas.

16 On the word Brāhmaṇa cf. Winternitz, GIL, p.164 - "Erklärung der Äusserung eines gelehrten Priesters, eines doctors der Opferwissenschaft über irgend einen Punkt des Ritual" Silburn, Instant et Cause, p.64 "Les textes memes dont la fonction est précisément d'établir des connexions". On the importance of the "Brāhmaṇa" cf. Keith, RPV, p.333.

The reasonings for result :

In the Brāhmaṇa-texts we find that the results of the sacrificials action are not mentioned alone. Along with them some reasonings are given for the sake ^{of} explaining how a particular action leads to the particular result. The sacrificer is thereby convinced and becomes ready to perform that rite. These reasonings are, of course, in the Brāhmanic manner, but they show how the efforts were being made to explain the cause and effect relationship in those days.

Stories of Gods :

In the Brāhmaṇa-texts, it is maintained sometimes that the particular result will come because when the Gods or an individual God performed that action, obtained that particular result. The Gods killed Vṛtra and gained supreme authority and so does the sacrificer slay his wicked enemy and gain victory (ŚB II.5.3.1). The Gods and Asuras entered upon their father's (Prajāpati's) inheritance, viz., the half months. The Gods performed the Darśapūrṇamāsa and obtained the half-months in the possession of Asuras. When the two half-months are revolved the month is produced. The year is equal to all. Gods thus obtained all that belonged to the Asuras. So the sacrificer knowing this obtains all that belongs to the enemy (ŚB I.7.2.22-24). Prajāpati desired to be bigger

than big and saw the Pañcaśāradiya rite and obtained what he had desired. The sacrificer of this sacrifice also obtains this result (TB II.7.10.1). Some desired to win the kingdom of all oṣadhis. He offered an offering to Soma and Mr̥gśīrṣa and obtained it. The sacrificer also obtains the kingdom of those who are of his own kind (TB III.1.4.3). The result of each Nakṣatreṣṭi is explained in this manner, viz., the result was obtained by some God and, therefore, the sacrificer now also will get the same result (TB III.1.4.3ff).

Ancient persons obtained the results :

The expected result is shown sometimes to have been obtained by some ancient personalities. By the use of the Vasiṣṭha sāman Vasiṣṭha became favourite of Indra and the user of it also will become favourite of Gods (TMB XII.12.10). By means of Pañcaviṃśa- stoma Gaur-āṅgīrṣa removed all sins and the users of this now also will remove all sins (TMB XVI. 7.7). By means the Trisāṃvatsara sattrā sacrifice Para āhṇāra, Trasadasyu. Paurukutsa, Vītaharya, Śrāyasa and Kakṣīrān Ausīja got a thousand sons each and now also the performer of this sattrā will obtain a thousand sons (TMB XXV.16.3).

Result connected with the nature of the rite :

Sometimes the result is connected with the nature of the sacrifice or the sacrificial action. The Vājapeya is

soma itself, and one who knows this, viz., Vājapeya as equal to soma becomes rich in food (vājin) and his son also becomes rich in food (TB 1.3.2.3-4). The sacrifice named Viśvajit-śilpa is said to be wheeled one (cakrīvān); for, the last two pavamāna-lauds are eighteen-versed each, i.e., they have equal number of verses. Therefore, they are taken to be wheels. Now as one can go wherever one wants to go by means of a wheeled car, in the same manner one reaches to all his desired objects by means of this sacrifice (TMB XVI.15.4). This is due to the particular nature of this sacrifice. The Dr̥tivātavatorayanam is described to be a bird having wings. For the two parts before and after the day in the middle, are precisely paralleled.¹⁷ Therefore, what wish is desired to be reached is reached by this sacrificial session. For, whatever a winged bird desires to go all that it reaches. This sacrifice is also of the nature of a winged bird and, therefore one obtains anything one desires (TMB XXV.3.4).

Result connected with the ritual utterances :

Sometimes result is connected with the ritual utterances (mantras etc.) used. The last day of the Āśvamedha sacrifice is an Atirātra with all the stomas. The result of this is to obtain all. Atirātra with all the Stomas recited is identical and with all/thereby all is obtained (ŚB XIII.3.1.4). Here the Atirātra with all the stomas produces the desired result. The

17 Caland, Pancavimsabrahmanā (translation), p. 629.

sacrificer at the end of the Pīṇḍapitṛyajña utters the Mantra in which he expresses his desire to be the wealthiest (vasiṣṭha) among the people of his own kind (TM I.3.10.8-9) and then he obtains the result. From one who sacrifices with the Āśvamedha wealth and royal power pass away. The mantras to be used are shown to mean how the wealth and royal power are reobtained by means of them (ŚB XIII.2.9.1ff).

Now it is famous that the sacred words, formulas, texts, etc., are supposed to enable man to influence upon the nature and so go get the desired results.¹⁸ The Brāhmaṇa-texts also have thus connected the results with the sacred utterances, etc.

Connection with the material used :

The result is connected with the material used for offering etc. After the Ratnin offerings a pap cooked in milk of white cow is offered to Soma and Rudra. The reason is that the sacrificer has entered into darkness as it were while making the Ratnin offerings in the houses of the Commandar and the Hunter who are not worthy of sacrifice. In

18 Gonda, "Pratiṣṭhā", Samjñavyakaraṇa, 1954, p.7; on the power of words see also James, Priesthood, p.38.

order to remove that darkness the milk of white cow is to be used (ŚB V.3.2.2). The result, viz., keeping the sacrifice undried (alukṣa) is achieved by preparing the cooked rice in ghee (TB I.1.6.6). The ghee makes the sacrifice undried. One who wants the sensual pleasure (indriyakāma) should offer his Agnihotra with curds. For the curd is identical with the sense (indriya) (TB II.1.5.6). Here the result is mystically said to be connected with the offering material.

Connection with the dakṣiṇās :

The result is sometimes based upon the dakṣiṇās which are given in the course of rites. The result of giving a steribe (Vaśā) cow to the priest Maitrāvamaṇa is that one controls over the Rāṣṭra (vaśa) (TB I.8.2.4). The dakṣiṇā for the Nirṛti offering in the Rājsūya is a black cloth with black fringes. This is the colour of Nirṛti. By means of that colour of the dakṣiṇā cloth, Nirṛti is removed (TB I.6.1.4). For Nirṛti's form is supposed to be black. The Gosava sacrifice is done by the sacrificer for obtaining autocracy (svārājya). The dakṣiṇā of this sacrifice is ten thousand cows. The number ten thousand is equal to autocracy (svārājya) (TB II.7.6.2). Thus the dakṣiṇās of the sacrifice Gosava and the result of it are connected.

Connection with the deities :

The result has sometimes a mystical connection with

the deities concerned. The sacrificer gets Brahman-lustre (Brahmavarcas)¹⁹ if he establishes fires on Kṛttikā constellation. For it is the constellation of Agni's own. Agni is the deity connected with the Brāhmaṇas and, therefore, one gets Brahman-lustre on establishing the fires on Kṛttikā constellation (TB I.1.2.1). One who wants that one's offsprings should be generous, should establish fires on Pūrve Falgunī. For this constellation is connected with the deity Aryaman. One who gives is called Aryaman. Thus the deity Aryaman is connected with generosity and one who establishes fires on the Pūrve Falgunī gets offsprings of generous nature (TB I.1.2.3-4). The sacrifice named Aupaśada is helpful for getting progeny. For it is connected with the Gandharvas and Apsarases; and it is they who govern the generation. They get soma-drinking in this sacrifice and being gratified thus help to get progeny (TMB XI.3.2).

Connection with the name :

The result has some connection with the name of the particular detail used in the ritual. The Sapha sāman is useful for obtaining these worlds. Gods obtained these worlds

19 On Brahmavarcas as "Preeminence in holiness, sacred knowledge, and supranormal power" see Gonda, "Pratiṣṭhā" p.13.

by means of the Sapha sāman. This is the Saphanness of Sapha. Here the name Sapha is derived from the root āp with the prefix sa- which means to obtain and thus the result of obtaining these worlds is connected with sāman Sapha (TMB XI.5.6). Similar is the explanation of the result of the use of Ākṣāra sāman. From these worlds the sap (rasa) went away. By means of the Akṣāra Sāman Prajāpati made it flow again forth (ākṣārayat). Hence, this sāman got the name Ākṣāra. He who having been formerly successful, afterwards fares worse, should take the Ākṣāra sāman as the Brahman's sāman. (The sāman Ākṣāra) causes flow unto him the valour, strength and sap (TMB XI.5.10-11). The sāman Bhāsa (the sāman of light) is used and the sacrificer in whose sacrifice it is used shines as the result of it (TMB XV.5.31). Thus the names and the results have some connection and, therefore, the particular result is produced.

Connection with the timings :

The result is connected sometimes with the timings of the ritual actions. The re-establishment of the fires (punarādhāna) is to be done on the Punarvasu constellation. This is to be done with the desire "May riches (vasu) and wealth (vitta) come again (punaḥ)". Here the word Punarvasu and the result, obtaining riches (vasu) again (punaḥ) are connected and thus the result is based on the timings (Kb I.3)

One who establishes fires on Kṛttikā constellation becomes chief. For the Kṛttikā constellation is the chief among all the constellations (TB I.1.2.1). On the Paurṇamāsī day a kām̐ya offering is made with ājya. The Paurṇamāsī is identical with the desire (kāma). The ājya is also identical with the desire. One, therefore, gets one's desire satisfied (TB III.1.4.15).

Connection with place :

The result is connected with the place of sacrifice. One resides in the place named Puṇya which is divine place for sacrifice, when one wants to sacrifice with Āśvamedha. Then he gets good (puṇyā) fame (TB III.8.1.2).

Sacrifice as a result producing machine :

Thus we see how the Brāhmaṇa-texts give reasonings for any result deriving from any action so much so that the sacrifice in the Brāhmaṇas would appear nothing short of a result-producing machine. If you perform the sacrifice correctly you will get the result. Therefore, the sacrifice is to be performed with minute care and avoiding all sorts of mistakes, either of commission or of omission. The mistakes lead to the bad results (see under Prāyaścitti). TB III.2.4.1 says "Following the continuity of the sacrifice the offsprings and the cattle of the sacrifice remain continuous. Following

the discontinuity of the sacrifice the offsprings and cattle of the sacrificer discontinue themselves.'

Oltramare describes the sacrifice as having the characteristics of a magical operation and if everything, e.g., the gestures, the utterances, etc., is done correctly the sacrifice has its own efficacy independant of the merit or demerit of the sacrificer²⁰ and it will produce the due result. Similarly Oldenberg remarks that the result is obtained from the sacrifice in a cause effect relation and not as a mercy of God.²¹ Keith has remarked in the same way "In the theosophy of the Brāhmanas, it is an accepted fact that the sacrifice has a magic power of its own and it brings about the effect at which it aims with absolute independence."²²

20 Oltramare, L'Histoire des Idées ... I (1906), p.18

"Le sacrifice a de plus en plus l'aspect d'une opération magique. Pourvue qu'il soit observé en toute intégrité de gestes de paroles et de sentiments le rite a une vertue propre indépendante de mérite et du démérite habituelles de la personne qui l'accomplit".

21 Oldenberg, Weltanschauung, p.155f.

22 Keith, RPV, p.260.

Even though, the above observations are generally justified they have a few limitations and even though the Brāhmaṇa-texts have described the ritual mechanism, they have also maintained that it is the Gods who give the result of the sacrifice to the performer - the man. Thus at the end of the Darśa and the Purnamāsa offerings a prayer is made to the Gods for granting the desired objects (ŚB I.9.1.12ff). Similarly at the end of the Agnihotra there is an approachment (upasthāna) to the fires in which prayers are made for various desired objects (ŚB II.3.4.10ff). There is a discussion whether such prayer is to be made or not. The reason why there should not be any prayer is given as follows - At the beginning the Gods and men were to-gether. Whatever did not belong to the men, for that they importuned the Gods saying, "This is not ours; let it be ours!" Being indignant at this importunity the Gods then disappeared. Hence, one should not approach the fires fearing lest he should offend them, lest he should become hateful to them. Further other reasons are also given. But the Brāhmaṇa-texts maintain that the approachment with the prayer is to be made and argued as follows :

"The sacrifice belongs to the Gods and the prayer for blessing belongs to the sacrificer. The Agnihotra - libation is the same as the sacrifice and what he does in approaching, that indeed is the sacrificer's prayer for blessing (ŚB II.3.4.5ff)

Thus the Gods are prayed for granting the desired objects.

Further, it may be added in this context that there is a kind of giving and taking, co-operation between the Gods and the sacrificer or men in general according to the Brāhmaṇa-texts. The men give to the Gods the sacrificial material and the Gods give men whatever they want, "The Gods live upon whatever is given from here and the men live upon whatever is given from there (itahpradānāddhi devā jīvanti amutahpradānān manusyāḥ" JB I.116; 145; II.245). Similarly with a slight difference we read, "That world lives because of whatever is given from here ... this world lives because of whatever is given from there (itahpradānāddhyasu loko jīvati ... amutahpradānāddhyayaṁ loko jīvati JB I.291). When the Gods having collected sacrifice went from here upwards both Gods and men suffered due to hunger. For no offerings went from here upwards and no rains could come ^{from there} downwards. Then through the help of Ayāsyā the sacrifice was made current and when the sacrificial performances began both Gods and men obtained what they required (JB II.216). JB I.258 says that the sacrifice should be performed in such a way that both the Gods and men will be able to live. "They say: if the sacrifice is spread upwards, the Gods alone will live and not the men; if spread downwards men only will live and not the Gods. (Therefore), the sacrifice should be spread

upwards, downwards and sideways." Thus we know that the men give to the Gods and Gods also give to the men.

It is interesting to see in what manner the Gods respond to the men. They do the same whatever is done by the men (yādr̥gaha vai manusyo devebhyah karoti tādr̥g asmai devāḥ kurvanti - JB II.386; 390. Cp. AB III.6 - Yādr̥giva vai devebhyah karoti tādr̥givaśmai devāḥ kurvanti). Thus the Gods give the same what men give to them.

The part of the Gods in granting the result can be shown by the following proofs. "One who sacrifices, assuredly, pleases the Gods. Having pleased the Gods, then the hotṛ invokes a prayer of blessing and that prayer of blessing invoked by him, the Gods realise for this (sacrificer) knowing as they do that he has pleased them ..." (ŚB I.9.1.3). ŚB I.9.1.10 we know, "Whatever oblation the Gods graciously accept, by that he (the sacrificer) obtains great things ... What the Gods delight in they make mountain-high (yaddhi devā havir juṣante tena hi mahajjayati ... yad vai devā havir joṣayante tadapi girimātram kurvate"). Thus, it will be seen how the Gods are grateful to man. They make the offering given by the ~~man~~ sacrificer mountain-high and it is implied that they give more than what man has given to them. "They themselves prosper^{ev}_^, make the sacrificer prosper by means of offspring, cattle and food (JB I.233).

Thus, it will be seen that the Gods have an important part in the granting of the result and it is not correct to hold that the result is achieved by a mere machine - like process. When that machine is well rotated, it is the Gods who give the result to the men.

From ritualism to spiritualism :

a) Even mistakes producing good results : In the Brāhmaṇa-texts, we get the description of the mistakes which also can produce good result. Normally, there should not be anything too much nor anything too little. But even if such too much or too little of any rite is done then that is also fruitful. Thus, it is said that whatever is done too little in sacrifice is helpful for progeny. Whatever is done too much is helpful for getting cattle. Whatever there is uncertain, wavering (saṅkasuka) is helpful to get wealth and whatever is done correctly leads to the heaven (ŚB XI.4.4.8). According to KB XI.8, the incompletel part is identical with the food and the redundant or the too much part is identical with the generation, ŚB XI.4.4.1 has described the mistakes as the doors of ~~heaven~~. brahman.

b) role of Śraddhā in obtaining result : In obtaining the result śraddhā, firm faith in the ritual efficiency²³

23 On Śraddhā cf. Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice p.108ff; Silburn, Instant et cause, p.59, 90. Keith, RPV 462, Gonda, Religionen Indiens, I; p.43.

has also an important place. "He who sacrifices with faith, his sacrifice does not perish (sa yah śraddadhāno vajate tasyeṣṭam na kṣīyate KB VIII.4). Lévi has, therefore, rightly said "La confiance est nécessaire à ce point que, sans, elle le sacrifice est sterile au moins pour le sacrifiant".²⁴

c) result by mere knowledge : We always find in the Brāhmaṇa-texts the growing importance of knowledge. The mere action cannot produce the expected or the promised result. The sacrifice may be a machine producing good results; but the men working there should be wise. Therefore, we see that the learned priests were important in the ritual (see under Ṛtvijs). The Brāhmaṇa-texts give the cause-effect relationship and the performer should know it. In the Brahmanical ritualism itself, there are the germs of the later spiritualism. It may be interesting in this connection to note that the Brāhmaṇa-texts very often declare that the particular result is not only obtained by the one who performs the particular action but also by one who knows it thoroughly. A few examples may be given as follows - Prajāpati created first Agni. He moved around Prajāpati. Prajāpati was afraid of death. He created Āditya and turned backwards. Thus then he avoided the untimely death. One who knows this, avoids the untimely death. If the Agnihotra of the one who knows this is not offered for one day or two days, it is as good as offered. That Āditya becomes one's Agnihotra (TB II.1.6.4-5).

24 Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice, p. 113.

Here, we see how knowledge can substitute even the action. Indra's own people, viz., Maruts were not willing to worship him. He saw the Vighna sacrifice and sacrificed with it. Thereby he removed their opposition. The sacrificer of this sacrifice (named Vighana) kills his evil enemy. One who knows this he also does the same (TB III.7.18.1). Prajāpati while creating beings become relaxed. He remained being food. Gods quarreled among themselves to get the food. Then they decided to run a race. Br̥haspati won the race. Indra offered him purohitaship and obtained in return the Br̥has-patisava sacrifice addressed to him. Then Indra became the highest among the Gods. One who knows this also becomes the highest among his own people (JB II.128). GB I.4.7 describes the origin of the Agniṣṭoma and adds that one who knows this origin of Agniṣṭoma can go to the Gods.

d) Ideas of renunciation and attainment of supreme goal:

We have seen above how in the Brāhmaṇas there is the importance of Kāma (desire), its unending expansion and the innumerable rites for fulfilling it. But slowly the ideas of renunciation of all the desires and of trying to attain something beyond it are appearing in the Brāhmaṇa-texts. Thus the ŚB X.5.4.16 reads - "^{id}Vidyayā tad ārohanti yatra kāmāḥ parāgatāḥ. Na tatra dakṣiṇā yanti nāvidvāmsastapasvināḥ. By knowledge they ascend that (state) where desires have vanished;

sacrificial gifts go not thither, nor the fervid practisers of rites without knowledge".²⁵ Here the importance of knowledge, futility of the ritual and the inclination towards the desireless highest state etc. are suggested. Among the various results we find that there is some secret link between the worldly and the non-worldly desires. Most of the interests are worldly. To get food, children, wealth, long life in this world are the important desires²⁶ and side by side the desire for getting pleasures in the other world also are present. To these themselves, the desires of getting place in some higher world, to remove "death" from all the worlds and to be immortal, to obtain that immortality, amṛtatva which is the absolute bliss etc. are connected. The latter aims are mentioned, certainly more frequently in the later literature. But in the Brāhmaṇa-texts they already seem to have begun to make their appearance.

25 For the ideal of renunciation in the Brāhmaṇas cf. Oldenberg, Weltanschauung, p. 201.

26 Cf. Frazer, Golden Bough, 325 "To live and to cause to live, to eat food and to beget children, these were the primary wants of men in the past and they will be the primary wants of men in the future so long as the world lasts".

Chapter - ITHE DOCTRINE OF THE SACRIFICEImportance of sacrifice :

Ritual is the chief concern of the Brāhmaṇa-texts. They describe in detail various sacrifices and their details. But the description is not all. The Brāhmaṇa-texts are more interested in explaining the ritual. They want to convince their reader of their views. In order to convince the reader how the sacrifice is important they have praised it in various ways.

When it is prescribed that the winnowing basket and the Agnihotra-ladle are to be taken with the words, "For the work (I take) you, for the accomplishment you two ! (karmanē vām veṣāya vām VS I.6), a remark is made according to which sacrifice is the work (yajño vai karma)(ŚB I.1.2.1). Elsewhere sacrifice is described as the greatest of the greatest works (yajño vai śreṣṭhatamaṁ karma - ŚB I.7.1.5. yajño hi śreṣṭhatamaṁ karma TB III.2.1.4). KB XXV.II describes sacrifice to be the greatest in all the worlds (yajño vai bhuvaneṣu śreṣṭhaḥ). One who raises himself upon the sacrifice, raises himself to one that is very good (śreyāmsaṁ vā eṣa upāvarohati yo yajñam - ŚB III.2.1.8). Thus here the sacrifice is described to be śreyas, i.e., something very good. Again sacrifice is said to be "greatness" (yajño vai mahimā) (ŚB II.3.1.18), from which it follows that sacrifice

is great. Sacrifice is also identified with happiness
(yajño vai sumnam) (ŚB VII.3.1.34)

It can be easily understood how sacrifice is exalted here. There is no doubt that sacrifice was very important from the point of view of the Brāhmaṇas. Therefore, they have described the sacrifice in general with great enthusiasm. It is proposed to study these descriptions in the following pages and try to understand the doctrine of sacrifice.

First we shall see the views of the Brāhmaṇa-texts about the sacrificial performance. Then we shall try to find out the guiding principles behind the sacrificial performance.

And finally a study will be made of the nature of sacrifice in general on the basis of comparisons and identifications used by the Brāhmaṇa-texts for describing sacrifice,

connection with the sacrifice.

(A) The nature of the sacrificial performanceIntroduction :

Sacrifice is described in various ways at various places throughout the Brāhmaṇa-literature. Performance of sacrifice is very complex matter with many ideas underlying it. A close perusal and analysis of these descriptions is necessary for aiming at a clearer idea of the concept of sacrifice in the Brāhmaṇa-texts. This is what we propose to do in what follows.

Sacrifice, its general nature :

Sacrifice primarily consists in offering something to a deity or deities along with sacred utterances. But this has not been expressly stated by the Brāhmaṇa-texts except in a few references given below. Thus sacrifice is identified with the offering (āhuti) (esa eva yajño yad āhutiḥ) by, ŚB II.3.4.5. ŚB III.1.4.1 describes the offering (āhuti) as the direct form of the sacrifice and having identified it with sacrifice implies in addition that the yajas-formulas are its indirect form. From ŚB.I.6.3.39 we know that the oblations are the self of sacrifice (havīṃsi ha vā atma yajñsya). ŚB I.2.5.26 we get a more clear picture of sacrifice. Bṛhaspati explains there the nature of sacrifice as follows : "What we have heard of as produced (pariṣūtam) for the Gods

that is this sacrifice, that is to say, the cooked oblations and the prepared altar."

So outwardly sacrifice is the altar, the oblations, and offering of them etc. But this is not all. The sacrificial performance is described in other ways also. Some of them are directly found in the performance and others are merely theoretical and speculative productions of the Brāhmaṇa-texts. Thus the sacrificial performance as a "collection" or "paying homage" is actually found in the performance. But sacrificial performance as a redeeming, as a journey, as killing and generating, etc., are the speculations of the brāhmaṇa-texts.

Sacrifice as a "Collection" (sambhr-)

The root bhr with the prefix sam is very often used in connection with the sacrifice. This suggests the idea of "collection" underlying sacrificial performance. Thus, "one who sacrifices with the sacrifice, collects (sambharati) the sacrifice with the whole self, with the whole mind" (KB X.3). Here we find how sacrifice is understood as a "collection". AB III.11 informs us that the Gods "collected" the sacrifice by means of quarters (of the verses). AB I.18 and GB II.2.6 give a story according to which Gods are advised to seek to "collect" the sacrifice which had run away from them. Elsewhere we find another story. The Gods desiring that the men should not

know the sacrifice, sipped the sap of the sacrifice, scattered¹ (yopayitvā) it by means of the sacrificial post (yūpa), and went away. The ṛṣis then heard this and they "collected (samabharan)" the sacrifice. By offering the Audgrabhaṇa offerings one "collects" the sacrifice (ŚB III. 1.4.3-4). Similar story we find at ŚB III.2.2.2-3;11-12; 28-29;4.3.15-16.

The use of sambhr- for the performance of sacrifice seems to be connected with the materials (sambhāras) of the sacrifice which also are to be "collected" and without which sacrifice is impossible. "In that he collects (sambharati) from here and there, therefore, the sambhāras are so called (sa yad vā itaścetaśca sambharati tat sambhārānām sambhāratvam)" (ŚB II.1.1.1). "That there are the materials it is for the sake of originating the sacrifice (yat sambhārā bhavanti yajñasya prabhūtvai)" (TB II.2.2.6). The collection of material is very important for the sacrifice and the collection of materials seems to be extended to the performance of sacrifice being called "collection". Thus in the following sentence the performance is mentioned by the word "Collection". "Let them collect (perform) the sacrifice being impelled by savitṛ (savitṛprasūtā yajñam sambharān)" (ŚB I.7.1.4).

1 For this meaning see Eggeling, SBE, LXVI, p.36 n.1

Sacrificial performance as paying "homage" (namah) :

The sacrifice is sometimes identified with the word namas and it is thereby implied that the sacrificial performance contains an element of paying homage. In the fire-building ceremony at the time of building first layer, homage is paid to the serpent. Then it is said, "The sacrifice is homage (yajño vai namah), and by sacrifice, by homage, one thus worships them". (ŚB VIII.4.1.30). In the śatarudrīya offering, "homage, homage (namo namah)" is said again and again; and this is followed by the - "Sacrifice is homage; and it is by sacrifice, by homage, that one worships" (ŚB IA.1.1.16). At the end of the piṇḍapitryajña also homage (namah) is to be paid. There also we get the identification of sacrifice and homage (ŚB II.4.2.24).

Homage (namas) can control even the Gods, as is indicated by the remark : "Gods are not above the paying of the homage (na hi namaskāram ati devāḥ)". This remark is found when it is prescribed that in the performance of pravargya, after touching the embers with the poking-stick, homage is paid to the Gods (AB II.1). The same remark is repeated for explaining the paying of homage to the sadas at the time of creeping to the sadas (AB AIII.1; GB II.2.18).

we can see in the identification of sacrifice and homage (namah) some traces of the bhakti doctrine. Of course, it is

not intended to maintain that the bhakti has its origin here. For the bhakti has its place with many of its characteristics in the Ṛgvedic and Atharvavedic hymns. It is only to be stated that it is not likely that the bhakti which has paying homage to Gods as its important factor might have been continued from the sāṃhitā period in the Brāhmaṇa-period also.

Performance of sacrifice as "redeeming" (niṣkrī-)

Another theory involved in the performance of sacrifice is the redeeming of the sacrificer from the gods. "When one extends the sacrifice, one redeems oneself by means of the sacrifice from the Gods even as Prajāpati. When the material for (the chief) sacrificial dish is taken out, the sacrifice is redeemed by the material for the sacrificial dish (havis). The sacrificial dish is redeemed by the invitatory formula (anuvākya), the invitatory formula by the portion cut (from the sacrificial dish) (avadāna), the portion by the vaṣaṭ call, the vaṣaṭ call by the oblation and oblation by Anvāhārya (mess of rice) ... Thus the whole sacrifice comes to be redeemed. This sacrifice becomes the body of the sacrificer in the other world ..." (ŚB AI.1.8.5-6).

The redemption (niṣkraya) theory of the sacrifice involve the idea of debt (ṛṇa).² Everybody owes a debt to the Gods,

2 For the idea of the ṛṇa (debt) behind the sacrificial performance see Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice, p.131.

For the niṣkraya theory cf. Hubert, Mauss, ---- "sacri", p.134

to the R̥sis, to the fathers and to the men. The way of redeeming oneself from the debt to the Gods is to sacrifice, to offer; from that to the r̥sis is to learn, from that to the father is to have progeny; and from that to the men is to be hospitable to them (ŚB I.7.2.1-6). Elsewhere the same idea of redeeming oneself from the debt by means of the sacrifice is told in a somewhat different way. "Verily even in being born, man by his own self, is born as a debt (owing) to death; and in that one sacrifices thereby one redeems oneself from death" (ŚB III.6.2.16).

The "redemption" theory is closely connected with the animal sacrifice (see under the section on animal sacrifice for details). The sacrificer is understood to be identical with the animal in the redemption theory. The animal is offered for redeeming oneself (see e.g. KB A.3). Every oblation (havis) is in a way redemption of oneself (KB A.3). Thus we see that the basic idea of the sacrifice involves self-offering and then redeeming oneself by means of a substitute, i.e., an animal.

Sacrificial performance as a journey :

We shall see afterwards how sacrifice is compared or identified with a cart, a chariot or a ship. This comparison suggests that the sacrificial performance is like journey towards the results of the sacrifice such as obtaining

heavenly world, etc. Similarly in the guiding principles of the sacrifice we find one according to which one should not go away from the "path of the sacrifice". Here also the idea of journey is suggested. The Adhvara, according to modern scholars, is connected not with the root dhurv, to injure and thereby implying the idea of 'uninjured', but to the word adhvan meaning path etc. and if this modern etymology is accepted, the word Adhvara itself would suggest the idea of journey. Gonda³, for instance, understands the word Adhvan as a way or road which leads to a goal a comparatively safe and possible ... way, a road which makes a good journey". Gonda further notes that the words for "way" or "path" are frequently used in many parts of the world in a religious sense. The term Adhvara accordingly is connected with journey, i.e. the journey of the sacrificer from this world to that world or to some other results of the sacrifice.

The performance of sacrifice as killing and generating it :

Performance of the sacrifice is often described as "killing the sacrifice".⁴ "They really slay the sacrifice when they spread it. When they press the king (soma), they kill it. When they quiet the victim, they slay it and with

3 Gonda, VIJ, Vol.III - "Adhvara and Adhvaryu" p.165 cf. the literature referred to there.

4 Keith, RPV, p.460

the mortar and pestle, with the upper and nether mill-stone they slay the havis-offering." Then by means of the dakṣiṇās the sacrifice is invigorated (ŚB IV.3.4.1ff.cp.II.2.2.1ff;GB II.3.17; cp. also ŚB IV.6.9.21 for the idea of killing). The idea of generation follows immediately after that of killing. The etymology of the word yajña is based upon the conception of killing and generating. Thus it is said, "when they press him, they slay him; and when they spread him they cause him to be born. He is born in being spread along; he is born moving (yan jāyate). Hence yañja, for yañja they say yajña". Thus the 'generation' idea is mentioned here (ŚB III.9.4.23).⁵ ŚB 41.1.2.6 mentions the idea of killing and the idea of generating in the following way - "Having killed the sacrifice, he pours it, as seed in to the fire as its womb; for indeed the fire is the womb of the sacrifice. From out of it, the sacrifice is produced. In connection with Soma it is said, "In pressing, the soma is killed. It is killed by means of the stone. By being placed upon stones he rises from thence and thus he lives". (ŚB III.9.4.8).

Though the sacrifice is sometimes said to be killed, sometimes efforts are also made to show that it is uninjured, safe, etc. The sacrifice is often described as adhvara (adhvaro vai yajñah, ŚB I.2.4.5;4.1.38;39;II.3.4.10;etc.)

5 For this, see Keith, RPV. p.460.

The word Adhvara is derived by ŚB I.4.1.40 from the root dhurv 'to injure' and the negative particle. For once, when the Gods were engaged in sacrificing, their rivals, the Asuras, wished to injure them. But though desirous of injuring them, they were not able to injure (dhurv) them and were foiled. For this reason, the sacrifice is called Adhvara (uninjured). Efforts are also made in the course of performance that the sacrifice does not die; on the contrary to see that it is protected. The sacrifice is killed when the oblations are cooked, when the soma is pressed, when the animal is killed. Prajāpati, by means of Hīmkāra takes the sacrifice to see that it is not killed (ahatatāyai) i.e. it is protected (GB II.3.9). In the Vājapeya after performing the animal-sacrifice of a sterile cow to Maruts, seventeen victims are to be killed for Prajāpati. The purpose is not to let the sacrifice be killed (aghatāya) i.e. for its safety.

The performance of sacrifice as generating it :

We have already seen how sacrifice is killed mystically, how efforts are made to protect it and how the sacrificial performance is described as killing and generating it at the same time. Let us now see, how sacrifice is described as generating it⁶ without any reference to killing it. "One

6 Keith, RPV, p.261 describes the idea of sacrificial

who sacrifices, generates the sacrifice (yajñam vā eṣa janayati yo yajate" ŚB I.9.1.2). "One who has spread the sacrifice has really generated it (yajñam vā etad ajījanata yad enam atata" ŚB I.9.2.27; IV.4.6.6). "He (the consecrated sacrificer really performs it (the sacrifice); he generates it (eṣa hyenam tanute eṣa hyenam janayati" ŚB III.2.2.12). The reason why one consecrates himself on the day of new moon is : from the new moon, the sacrifice is spread; thence will I generate it (yato yajñas tāyate tato yajñam janayāmīti" ŚB VI.2.2.26). When one draws the Āśvina graha one generates the whole sacrifice (āśvinam graham grhītvā kṛtsnam yajñam janayati ŚB IV.5.6.5).

Thus the performance of sacrifice is described as generating it. But this is not enough. The sacrifice is the most powerful generative unit and we shall now see in more details how sacrifice is described as a generation process.

6 continued ..

performance as generating it as being "precisely in the strain of shallow mysticism which is characteristic of the vedic conceptions". In this context we should only remember that Brāhmaṇa-texts as the vedic literature in general represents in our sense a non-systematic knowledge. Therefore, there is no point in describing it 'shallow'. It is our task to find out the "deep" meaning there.

Sacrifice as a generative process :

Introduction :

To the vedic sacrificer "offspring" was one of the most important objects of desire.⁷ In the Śunaḥśepakathā we have a detailed discussion about the importance of having a son (AB VII.13). Similarly it is said elsewhere, that a man becomes perfect by means of the offspring (prajāyā hi manuṣyaḥ pūrṇaḥ TB III.3.10.4). Sacrifice was a very effective means to fulfil this desire. Sacrifice in general, or the things used in it or the mantras recited in the course of the sacrifice are helpful to get progeny; but it is further worth noting that many a time the sacrifice itself, or various details in it are shown to be a generative process. The Brāhmaṇa-texts have their own ideas about how the sacrifice is a generative process, how there are pairings of male and female elements, in what way the "union" takes place, and how the generation becomes possible. Let us illustrate this process of generation.

Sacrifice is generative :

The beings are described sometimes to have been born of the sacrifice. Thus for example JB I.67 states that Prajāpati has created the beings by means of the sacrifice

7 Cf. the chapter on the "Result of the sacrifice in the Brāhmaṇas".

named Agniṣṭoma. At the end of the Darśapūrṇamāsa offerings there are patnīsamāyajas.⁸ In order to explain why pathīsamāyajas are to be offered the following reason is given. "From the sacrifice offsprings are assuredly produced; those offsprings produced from the sacrifice are produced from pair (mithuna); and the offsprings produced from pair are produced after the completion of the sacrifice. Hence one causes thereby (by the patnīsamāyajas) those offsprings to be produced by means of a pair after the completion of the sacrifice." (ŚB I.9.2.5). Here we know clearly that offsprings are produced out of sacrifice. Similar remarks have been made in connection with the pātnīvatagraha which is to be drawn in the somasacrifice. (ŚB IV.4.2.9).

"Prajāpati having become an embryo was born out of this sacrifice; similarly the sacrificer having become an embryo is born out of this sacrifice" (ŚB III.2.1.11). Here the birth of the sacrificer is mentioned along with the allusion to the birth of Prajāpati from the sacrifice. JB I.17 in a general way says that there are two wombs (yoni), viz., the human womb and the divine womb. The human womb is the human world, (or) the generative organ of a woman. The second, viz. the divine womb is equal to the Āhvanīya (fire). Whatever is offered in it, whatever good deeds are performed, thereby the sacrificer pours himself in the divine womb and is born

8 For the Patnīsamāyajas see Hillebrandt, NVO, p.151ff

on Āditya. JB I.259 says that the sacrificer is born twice. The first birth is out of the pair (of his parents) and the second is out of the sacrifice. The birth out of the pair of his parents is for this world. The birth out of the sacrifice is for that world (i.e. the heavenly world). ŚB XI.2.1.1 mentions three births. A man is first born from his mother and father. When sacrifice inclines to him and he sacrifices that is the second birth. When he dies and is placed on the fire and then comes into existence again, that is his third birth.⁹ The birth out of the sacrifice is said to be more important and real. "Verily unborn is the man in so far as he does not sacrifice. It is through the sacrifice that he is born". (ajāto ha vai tāvat puruṣo yāvan na yajate. JUB III.3.4.8). The birth from the sacrifice is said to be certain and before it, it is uncertain (ŚB III.2.1.40). Thus we see that the sacrifice is described as being generative¹⁰ and the birth out of it is supposed to be very important.

9 See in this connection the section on the dikṣā - one of the significances of which is 'generation'.

10 Cf. for the sacrifice as a generative process e.g. Heesterman Consecration, p.37.. continuity and new birth are professedly the primary concern of the ritual which is governed by the idea of the '(re-)birth out of sacrifice'. Cf. the same, WZKSOA, VIII,(1964),p.2. See also Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice, p.107ff. Hubert, Mauss, "Sacr.",p.101

Male and Female - a pair (mithuna) :

For the sake of the generation "pair" is an essential factor. When the "pair-oblations" are prescribed in the course of the fire-building it is said that from the pair, generation takes place (mithunād vai prajātiḥ) (ŚB IX.4.1.5). As there cannot be generation without a pair, there is a tendency in the brāhmaṇa-texts to show how the pair is involved in any particular rite.¹¹ When there is that pair the rite becomes appropriate, fruitful, productive, etc. Accordingly a distribution of male and female qualities is done mostly on the basis of the grammatical gender of the words. The built up fire-altar is equal to speech (vāc - feminine) and the fire which is placed on the fire-altar is equal to breath (prāṇa-masculine). Thus there is a productive pair (ŚB 4.1.1.9). There are six pairs in the Agnihotra ceremony. The sacrificer (yajamāna - masc.) and his wife (patnī - femi.); the calf (vatsa - masc.) and the Agnihotra-cow (agnihotrī - femi.); the pot (sthālī - femi.) and the coals

11 Meyer, Trilogie III 229f.n.2 comments on the tendency of ritual pairing in the following way, "Vergessen wir nicht, wie stark das Ritual von dem Gedanken der Begattung durchzogen ist, so stark, dass. z.B. irgend ein Paar von Vingen regelrecht die Paarung (den Koitus) versinnbildlicht oft in unnatürlichster Weise".

(āṅgārāḥ - masc.); the offering spoon (sruk - femi.) and dipping spoon (sruva - mascu.); Āhavanīya (masc.) fire and the log (samidh - femi.) and libation (āhuti - femi.) and the svāhākāra (mascu.). Thus there are these six pairs in the Agnihotra and one who knows these six pairs gets offspring (ŚB XI.3.2.1). In the course of Pravargya after uncovering the head of the sacrificer's wife, she is made to pray while looking at the Mahāvīra. Then it is remarked that the Pravargya (masc.) is a male and the wife is a female. Thus a productive pair takes place there (ŚB XIV.1.4.16). In the Vājapeya there are both the somagrahas and the surāgrahas. The soma(grahas) represent the male and surā(grahas) represent the female. This is a productive pair and helps for obtaining progeny (TB I.3.3.4). In the Darśapūrṇamāsa there is a knot (granthi) in the girdle bound round the waist of the sacrificer's wife. The knot (granthi - masc.) is the male and the wife is the female and thus there is productive pair (TB III.3.3.4). Before the samīṣṭayajus, the altar (vedi - femi.) is cleansed by means of the grass-bunch (veda-masc.). Here the altar is the female and the grass-bunch is the male and they form a productive pair (ŚB I.9.2.24; TB I.3.9.10-11). Thus we see how in the course of various rites various pairs are involved according to the Brāhmaṇa-texts and how the grammatical gender helps for making pairs.

Ācaturam mithunam prajānanam :

In the ideology of the Brāhmaṇas the numbers upto four only are said to be capable of forming productive pairs. The origin of this concept is mentioned in the following mythological story of the Gods and Asuras. Both the Gods and the Asuras were contending for superiority. Neither Gods nor Asuras were able to defeat their enemies. Then they agreed to struggle by means of speech and those who could not follow up the speech uttered by the others by making a pair were to be considered as defeated. Then Indra said, "One (ekam - masc.)" The Asuras replied "One" (ekā - femi.)". Thus it was a pair. Then the next numbers two, three, and four were also uttered and there were pairs. But the Asuras could not give the pairing word in the case of the number five. For both the masculine as well as the feminine forms of the word are the same. The same is the case of the further numbers. Then as the Asuras could not make the pair, they were defeated (ŚB I.5.4.6ff; cp. JB II.291f; TMB XXI.13.2). Thus we know that the numbers upto four only are productive. Therefore, there are four patnīsaṃyājas (ŚB I.9.2.6; KB III.9). Soma is bought with four things : a cow, gold, a garment, and a female goat. For, upto four there is pairing, union, propagation (KB VII.1/c). The number four serves here for getting offspring.

No pair : No generation :

When there is no pair, no generation can take place.

The two persons of the same sex cannot produce an offspring. Therefore, persons of different sex are essential. In the Brāhmaṇa-texts difference is sought and sameness is avoided. For what is the same (jāmi) is not pairing and what is not the same (ajāmi) is pairing (JB I.300). The similar is not pairing, not productive. (amithunam etad aprajananam yad ekarūpam JB I.330).

The Male :

Let us now see the ideas of the Brāhmaṇa-texts about the male. It is the male who pours the seed. Therefore, ghee which represents seed is poured by means of a sruva(masc.) (ŚB VI.3.3.18). The seed is produced from the whole body of the male. The sand is covered in the fire-building ceremony on the whole body of the altar and thus the seed is put into the whole body. Then it is added that the seed is produced from the whole body (ŚB VII.3.1.28). The seed is poured from the generation organ (āhanasya) of the male and, therefore, in the soma-sacrifices āhanasyā verses are recited (AB VI.36). Elsewhere it is said that a male has limbs in excess(atirikta) from which he generates. A kind of Dvirātya sacrifice is said to be helpful for getting progeny. For it has three excesses (JB II.238). It should be added that one who has the testicles alone can pour seed and this is the reason why there are two retahsiḥ (seed-pouring) bricks to be used in the

fire-building ceremony (ŚB VII.4.2.24). A further particularity about the male is that he though one pours seed in many females. With the same s̄aman (understood as a male) praise is made in different ṛcs (understood as females) (JB II.380). The productivity of the seed of the male is limited to his young age only and the seed of a small boy or of an aged man is not productive. In the fore-offerings (Prayājas) of the Darśa and the Purnamāsa sacrifices ghee is used as the offering material. The seed of a boy is not productive but is like water. For ghee is like water. In the middle of these sacrifices sour curds and cake are offered. Therefore, in the middle age the seed is productive. For the offering material in the middle stage of the Darśa-purnamāsa is thick and the seed in the middle stage of life is also thick-flowing. In the after offerings (anuyājas) again the ghee is the offering-material. Therefore, in the last stage of the life the seed is not productive and is water like; for ghee is water like (ŚB XI.4.1.15; GB I.3.9). The male infusing seed "heats" the female. The fire-pan (ukhā-femi.) is heated on the fire (Agni - masc.). When Agni heats the fire-pan, then the flames mount upto it. The fire-pan is female; the fire is male. Hence when the male heats the female, he infuses seed into her (ŚB VI.6.2.8).

The Female :

We saw some ideas about the male. Let us see some ideas

about the female. The seed is poured in the wives (patnīsu vai retah sicvate). After the offering of the omentum of the Anūbandhyā-cow has been offered there is a victim for Tvaṣṭṛ. This offering to Tvaṣṭṛ is to be performed in the hut of the wife. The reason for this is as follows. Whatever is for Tvaṣṭṛ is like pouring seed. The seed is poured in the wives. Therefore, this rite is to be performed in the hut of the wife. (KB 11.4.6). A female is inferior because she lacks two and from that limb which lacks two, she generates. The Dvirātra which has jyotir ukthya as the first day and āyur atirātra as the second is lacking by two on the second day and then the rite becomes helpful for progeny (JB II.238). The female conceives seed while making her lap nude (JB I.173). A girdle is bound around the waist of the wife. This is done while she is sitting; for a female conceives seed while sitting (āsīnā) (JB I.3.3.1). The female is connected with the giving birth. She being one can give birth to many (JB I.280).

Lacking and exceeding (ūna or nyūna and atirikta):

The female and the male elements are sometimes mentioned indirectly by means of the words ūna or nyūna (lacking) and atirikta (exceeding). The Trivṛt and Pañcadaśa stomas are respectively ūna and atirikta. Therefore, they make a pair. To this it is added that from ūna and atirikta, from the pair, the offspring and cattle are born (ūnatiriktād vai mithunāt

prajāḥ paśavaḥ prajāyante. ^JJB II.239. cp. also JB II.325; TMB IV.8.3). As in many ideologies elsewhere, here also we find that the female is supposed to be a more important part as far as generation is concerned. Therefore, we find that sometimes it is mentioned that the offsprings are born out of the nyūna (which represents the female.) (nyūnad vā imāḥ prajāḥ prajāyante. ŚB AI.1.2.4; cp. AB VI.9 ŚadB I.3.17). It is in the nyūna that the seed is poured (AB VI.9). From the two lackings (ūna) the female gives birth (JB II.346; cp. JB II.353). These words (nyūna or ūna and atirikta) are based upon the anatomical observations about the female and the male, viz., the male has something protruding, in excess, in the form of the testicles and the penis. The female lacks these protruding limbs. There are some other anatomical observations also which we shall see presently.

Anatomy :

The womb (yoni) is said to be placed in the middle of the body. The basis (yoni) and the antistrophy of the Āgnimāruta are recited in the middle. Therefore, the womb is in the middle (AB III.35). The sacrificer who desires that a son having brahman-lustre should be born to him, should perform a Prṣṭhya Śadaha of which the Agniṣṭoma is in the middle. For, the Prṣṭhya Śadaha is the body and the Agniṣṭoma is the brahman-lustre. The generation organ is in the middle. The Agniṣṭoma which is in the middle is, therefore, generative.

(JB II.315). One who desires progeny should perform the Pr̥sthya Śadaha in the middle of which there are the three days, viz., Jyotiḥ, Gauḥ and Āyuh. For the Pr̥sthya Śadaha is the body and these stomas are generative and when the days on which these generative stomas are used are held in the middle that becomes helpful for progeny (JB II.320). The enclosing stones in the course of fire-altar building are identified with the womb and the saline earth (ūṣāḥ) is identified with the amnion (ulba) and the sand is the seed. The enclosing stones are outside and the saline earth is inside. For the womb is outside and the amnion is inside. The saline earth is outside and the sand inside. For the amnion is outside and the seed inside (ŚB VII.1.1.16). The two metaḥsic bricks are identified with the testicles. These bricks are to be laid down separately. For the testicles are separate. They are settled once and thereby made one and the same. Therefore, the testicles have a connecting part (ŚB VII.4.2.24).

Lying :

We described above the particularities of the male and the female and the anatomical details found in the Brāhmaṇas. Now we shall see how the Brāhmaṇa-texts describe the union of the male and female. It is essential for generation that the male and the female should unite themselves. The sacrifice named Vasiṣṭhasya Samsarpa is to be performed by one who desires progeny. Therefore, it is united with the stomas.

Then it is remarked : "From the united pair offsprings and cattle are born (samsaktād vai mithunāt prajāḥ paśavaḥ prajāyante." JB II.289). In describing this union we may note that the male is supposed to lie on the right side of the female. Accordingly on the right side (south) is the Āhavanīya fire (masc.) and on the left (north) lies the spade (abhri - femi.) (ŚB VI.3.1.30)¹². Again it lies at the distance of one cubit. For the male lies at the distance of one cubit from the female (ŚB VI.3.1.30). Similarly on the right side of the Aṣādhā brick (femi.) the tortoise (kūrma - masc.) is to be placed at the cubit's distance for same reason (ŚB VII.5.1.6). The lying of the male on the right side is expressed in somewhat different way in the following. From the right side the seed is poured. The lump of clay (of which the fire-pan is made) is taken from the right to the left of the hole. For from the right side the seed is infused in the womb (ŚB VI.4.2.10). On the right thigh of the priest named Udgātṛ fire is churned; for from the right side the seed is discharged (TMB XII.10.12; cp. JB III.70).

12 For the idea of male lying on the right side of the female see Oertel, JAOS XLVI, 1905, p.188, where he refers to Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra and gives greek parallels. He also suggests the reasoning behind the male lying on the right side as the desire of the male child; cf. the same JAOS, XLVI, p.234.

The process of seed-pouring :

In the recital of the Ājyaśāstra there are the Anuṣṭubh verses beginning with "Forward to your God Agni" (RV III.13). There the hotṛ separates the two first padas. Therefore, a woman separates her two thighs. This separating done by the hotṛ is thus helpful for the generation (AB II.35 Cp. KB XIV.2).¹³ The hotṛ mutters the muttering of the hotṛ (hotṛjapa). This is understood as pouring of the seed. The hotṛ calls the adhvaryu while lying on all fours with the averted face. Therefore, turning their backs, quadrupeds pour seed. When the adhvaryu takes him he becomes two-footed. Therefore, the bipeds facing each other emit seed (AB II.38).¹⁴

The seed :

The seed (retas) is described as "continuity" (santati) and, therefore, the Ketasyā sāmān is to be sung "continuously". In the first part of it, it is sung without allowing others to perceive it. For seed is not perceived as it were (parokṣam iva vai retah JB I.100). The omentum (vapā) is said to be identical with the seed. Seed disappears as it were; the omentum also disappears as it were. Seed is white; the omentum is also white. Seed is incorporeal (asārīra), the omentum is

13 Cf. Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice, p.107.

14 Cf. Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice, p.107.

also incorporeal (AB II.14). The wife of the sacrificer looks at the Udgātṛ priest upto the third verse of the Yajñayajñīya laud; for the seed is threefold (TMB VIII.7.14). The TMB does not offer any explanation of the threefold seed. Caland, translating this, has rightly referred to TS V.6.8.4. "Verily, there are three seeds - the father, the son and the grandson (Trīṇi vāva retāṃsi nītā putrah pautrah).¹⁵ From the seed beings are born. The Āhanasyā verses are recited in order that the seed-pouring should take place (AB VI.36). Otherwise it is said that nothing is born out of the seedless. The reasoning behind the scattering of sand is that sand is identical with the seed of Agni Vaiśvānara. As nothing is born out of the seedless, the sand is scattered and it is hoped that from out of this seed Agni should be born (ŚB VII.1.1.10).

The seed is poured in inaudible manner (upāṃśu).¹⁶ The Patanīśamyājas are to be performed in a low voice; for the performance of Patanīśamyājas is supposed to be helpful for generation. The generative activity is done secretly.

15 Caland, Pañcaviṃśabrāhmaṇa (translation) p.182, n.2.

16 For the word Upāṃśu see Renou and Silburn, Sarūpabhāratī, Hosiarpur, 1954, p.68, n.1. Renou, La Valeur du silence dans le culte védique, JAOS, LXIX (1949), p.11; the same, Vocabulaire, p.47; Silburn, Instant et Cause, 68.

Whatever is spoken in a low voice is done secretly. Therefore, the Patnīsaṃyājas are performed in an inaudible manner, in low voice (upāṃsu) (ŚB I.9.2.8; cp. KB. III.9). The silent praise (Tūṣṇīṃśamsa) is recited inaudibly; for the Tūṣṇīṃśamsa is a generative activity and as seed is poured inaudibly, the Tūṣṇīṃśamsa is also to be done inaudibly (AB II.39).

The seed is to be poured into the womb :

The seed must be poured into the womb. The offering should be made either simultaneously with the vaṣaṭ or after it has been pronounced. If the offering were made before the vaṣaṭ, it would be lost like the seed which is not poured into the womb. (ŚB I.7.2.14). While ploughing the earth at the time of Fire-building the verses (VS XII.67-68; RV X.101.4.3) uttered are those in which the ploughs are asked to 'cast seed in the ready womb'. Then it is remarked that it is for the seed that womb, the furrow, is made; and if one casts seed into unploughed ground, it is just as if one were to shed seed elsewhere than into the womb (ŚB VII.2.2.4-5). Sand is thrown on the uttaravedi in the preparation of the Fire-building. The uttaravedi is the womb and seed is infused thus into the womb. The seed which is infused into the womb is generative (ŚB VII.3.1.28). The lotus-leaf is the womb. The Gārhapatya is built outside the womb and all the performance prior to the laying down of the lotus-leaf is done outside the womb.

When the Gārhapatya is brought and laid down it is established in the womb on the lotus-leaf (ŚB VIII.6.3.7). Sometimes placing the seed in the very centre of the womb is emphasised. Gods saw the Punaściti and put it on the Gārhapatya; and thereby laid seed and generative power into this womb. In the centre they placed it. In the similar manner the sacrificer lays seed and generative power in the centre when he lays down the Punaściti (ŚB VIII.6.3.10).

The womb :

The most important activity of the womb is to generate. "The success (rāddhi) of the womb consists in seed, in the generation (esā u vai yoneḥ rāddhiḥ yad retah prajātiḥ ŚB VIII.6.3.8). Thus when the Gods having built the Gārhapatya did not find success therein, they thought of Punaściti. For, the Gārhapatya is the womb and the success of the womb is the seed, the generation; and in order to put seed and generative power in the womb they found the Punaściti (ŚB VIII.6.3.8ff). The black deer's horn which symbolizes the womb is to be tied to the end of the garment of the sacrificer in the dīkṣā ceremony. It is tied with the open part upwards, for it is in this way that the womb bears the embryo (uttāneva vai yonir garbhaṁ bibharti ŚB III.2.1.29). The womb is of equal size with the embryo. The fire-pan is made a span high and a span side-ways. For Viṣṇu, when an embryo, was a span long.

The fire-pan is the womb; and thus the womb is made of equal size with the embryo (ŚB VI.5.2.8). The womb enlarges itself as long as there is embryo in the womb. Some ritualists intending to construct higher forms of altars, increase the number of steps and the fathom accordingly. Their argument is : "We enlarge the womb in accordance therewith". This view is, however, not to be accepted. For, the womb does not enlarge along with the child that is born; but only as long as the child is within the womb; the womb enlarges itself so long as the growth of the unborn child continues there (ŚB X.2.3.6).

The embryo :

When the sacrificer is consecrated he becomes an embryo as it were and is treated as an embryo. He is anointed with fresh butter; for fresh butter appertains to the embryos (AB I.3).¹⁷ A hut is conducted for the sacrificer. This hut is like womb. He is covered with a garment. That garment represents the amnion (ulba). A black antelope's skin covers the garment. That is similar to placenta (jarāyu). The sacrificer closes his hands. For closing the hands the embryos lie within the womb (AB.I.3). The nivids are the embryos of the litanies. In that they are inserted before the litanies at the morning pressing, therefore, embryos are deposited at the back and

17 Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice, p.103f.

came into being at the back. In that they are inserted in the middle at the midday, therefore, the embryos are held in the middle. In that they are placed at the end in the course of the third pressing, therefore, offsprings are born downwards (AB III.10).

The growth of the embryo :

When the seed is poured in the womb, Tvaṣṭṛ fashions it. When the seed is poured in the form of an offering to soma in the course of Patnisamyājas, an offering is made to Tvaṣṭṛ. For he fashions the seed (ŚB I.9.2.10). Care is to be taken in order that the seed which has been poured should not get harm. The lump of clay to be used for fire-pan is understood as Agni, in the form of seed. This lump of clay is to be held over the animals. The result of this is that Agni becomes equipped with the cattle. The animals are, however not to be touched. For the animals are identical with the thunderbolt (vajra); and if they are touched, the seed in the form of clay would be injured (ŚB VI.4.4.6). Thus care is taken for the safety of the seed. The seed-pouring is first and then the growth of it. Accordingly after the muttering of hotṛ (hotṛjapa) which is like pouring seed, there is the silent-praise (Tuṣṇimsāmsa) which represents the growth of the seed. The Tuṣṇimsāmsa is recited secretly (tirah) as it were; for the growth of the seed takes place secretly (AB II.39). The embryos are held for ten months; for Prajāpati created

the beings by means of the tenth stotra of Agniṣṭoma and the tenth month of the year (JB I.67).

The birth :

Whatlike the seed is poured into the womb, suchlike is the child born. Therefore, in the consecration ceremony connected with the fire-building, there is a cake for Vaiśvānara. It is for Vaiśvānara because Agni-Vaiśvānara is being produced. In the consecration offering Agni-Vaiśvānara is by means of this offering being poured in the form of seed. He is born also as Agni-Vaiśvānara; for whatlike is the seed, suchlike is the child born. (ŚB VI.6.1.6). This performance is done inaudibly, because seed pouring is done silently. But when after Agni has been installed again an offering to Agni-Vaiśvānara is offered and this performance is done manifestly (niruktam); for manifest is the seed when born (ŚB IX.3.1.2). The fire-altar is understood as the head, the great rite (Mahāvarata) as the breath, and the Great Litany (Mahaduktha) as the body. The firealter is built first; for the head of him who is born, is born first (ŚB X.1.2.5). Having loosened the black antelope's skin, the sacrificer descends to the expiatory bath. Therefore, embryos are born freed from placenta. With the garment he descends. Therefore, a child is born with the amnion (AB I.3). The recitation of the Nābhānediṣṭhīya hymn is understood as the seed pouring. It is recited along with the Narāśamsa. Nara is offspring and

the Śamsa is the speech. Thus by reciting the Narāśamsa hymn speech is placed in the offspring. Therefore, offsprings are born speaking (i.e. crying) (AB VI.28).

We have above referred to the idea, viz., the embryos remain for ten months in the womb (see above). But elsewhere it is said that the beings are born after a year. "After a year beings and animals take birth (samvatsaram hi prajāḥ paśavaḥ anuprajāyante TMB x.1.9). The Dvirātra sacrifice where the first day is Agniṣṭoma and the second day is the Sarvastoma Atirātra, there are twelve stotras. There are twelve months in a year. A year (samvatsara) is identical with the generation (Jb II.239). Thus this sacrifice becomes helpful for generation. Here the year is connected with the generation and the year is supposed to be of twelve months. AB IV.22 we get the remark where animals are said to be born after ten months or a year. Thus we find there that according to some authorities the Viṣuvat rite is to be performed as a special rite on the Viṣuvat day and not merely as a part of a sattra. But this view is rejected and it is said that the Viṣuvat is to be performed at the Samvatsara sattra only. Thus they keep holding the seed for a year. Whatever seeds are born before the year, of five months, or six months, they wither. But those seeds which are born in ten months or a year are advantageous. Here both the periods, viz., that of ten months and that of a year are mentioned.

The sāmans as helpful for generation :

A special mention may be made here of the sāmans in the generation process. The singing of sāmans and the uttering of its relative parts are supposed in the Brāhmaṇa-texts as generative. Thus the Rathantara sāman is said to be the "pouring of seed" (retahsiktih). After the Rathantara sāman, the Vāmadevya svāra sāman is used. The svāra is identical with the breath and thus by using the Vāmadevya svāra sāman breath is put in the seed which has been already poured by means of the Rathantara. Then the Naudhasa nidhana is used. This is identical with the birth. Then the Kāleya Aīla sāman is used. Iḷā is equal to cattle and cattle are equal to food. Thus food is given to those who are born (JB I.305; For similar description of other sāmans, cf. JB I.306). One who desires progeny should perform the sacrifice, the first day of which is Agniṣṭoma, and the second, the Sarvastoma Atirātra. In this sacrifice, the Trivṛt and Pañcadaśa stomas are used which are respectively "lacking" (ūna) and "exceeding" (atirikta). From ūna and atirikta the beings are born. Thus the sacrifice becomes generative (JB II.239). The Vairāja sāman is also called generative (prajanana) (JB II.70). The Himkāra is described as connected with generation. Thus we read, "After the him sound the seed is implanted" (himkrtāddhi reto'bhidhiyate TMB VIII.7.13; JB III.70). The Himkāra is Prajāpati and the verses of the Bahispavamāna laud are women. By holding, after

the Hīmkāra has been made, the prastāva, a pairing takes place and this makes the sacrificer procreative (TMB VI.8.5)¹⁸

Conclusion :

We thus have seen how in the Brāhmaṇa-texts the sacrifice is described as a generative process. In this connection many details of the ritual are understood as male or female, seed, embryo etc. and many activities are described in the terms of generative process. The sāmāns and its relative factors also have a very significant role to play in this process.

Sacrifice as a cyclical process :

We have above described how sacrifice is connected with the death and birth cycle. Sacrifice is sometimes described as a cyclical process without any reference to the death and birth. Thus the Agniṣṭoma is described as follows : "This is the sacrificial rite without beginning or end; the Agniṣṭoma is like a chariot-wheel endless ..." (AB.43). ŚB II.3.1.13 describes the Agnihotra as endless. Thus here sacrifice is understood as a cyclical process.

18 Hīmkāra which is identical with vajra (thunderbolt) is sometimes harmful to the generation. Thus in the recitation of Ketasyā no Hīmkāra is to be made, lest it should injure the seed - JB I.100; cp. JB I.259; 315.

The wheel (^Vcaka) has an important role in the ideology of ancient India.¹⁹ The Bhagavadgītā also mentions ~~indirectly~~ the "rotation of the wheel of the sacrifice (vajñacakrapravartana) (III.14 ff). But the Bhagavadgītā has explained there the cycle of the worldly processes and sacrifice together and not sacrifice as a cyclic process directly. The Bhagavadgītā has earlier also mentioned that the Gods and men co-operate by means of the cycle of the sacrifice. Though these ideas of the Bhagavadgītā are more developed, the Brāhmaṇa-texts have already given their views in the same manner. Therefore, we shall now see how the Brāhmaṇa-texts describe the sacrifice as a co-operative institute between the Gods and men.

The sacrifice as a co-operative institute :

The principle of "do ut des" is involved in the sacrificial theory.²⁰ The sacrifice is sometimes described as the co-operative institute between Gods and men. Men offer sacrifice to the Gods and the Gods in return provide the men with the required things. The Gods live upon whatever is given from here and men live upon whatever is given from there.

(itahpradānād̐dhi devā jīvantī, amutah pradānān manusyāh JB I.116;145;III.245). The JB I.291 with a slight change says

19 For the importance of cakra (wheel) in the thinking of ancient Indians see Gonda Ancient Indian Kingship, p.123f.

20 For this doctrine cf. G. Van der Leeuw, REM, p.350 ff. Keith, RPV, p.259.

"That world lives because of whatever is given from here ... this world lives because of whatever is given from there (itahpradānāddhyasau loko jīvati ... amutahpradānāddhyayam loko jīvati). Therefore, when the Gods having collected the sacrifice went to the heaven and men did not perform the sacrifice, both Gods and men suffered due to hunger. For, no offerings went from here upwards, nor the rains could come downwards. Then through the help of Ayāsyā the sacrifice was made available to men and after the sacrificial performance the cycle of giving and taking became regular (JB II.216).

SB I.2.5.24ff a similar story is given expressing the idea of Gods depending upon the sacrifice. When once there was unbelief spread, there was no performance of sacrifice. "Then no sacrificial food came to the Gods from this world. Gods, verily, live upon whatever is given from here (itahpradānāddha devā jīvanti)." Then the Gods took the help of Bṛhaspati and got the things recovered. Here reference is made only to the subsistence of Gods upon the sacrificial food but no reference is made to the human beings depending upon the Gods.

The idea that the sacrifice should be performed in such a way that both Gods and men should be able to live is found in the following passage - "They say : if the sacrifice is spread upwards, the Gods only will live and not the men;

if spread downwards men only will live and not the Gods. (Therefore) the sacrifice is to be spread upwards, downwards and sideways ..." (JB I.258). The mutual co-operation between the Gods and men can also be seen when we read, "one who sacrifices, assuredly pleases the Gods. Having pleased the Gods by sacrifice ... one obtains share among them. When one has obtained a share among the Gods, then the Hotṛ invokes a blessing and that blessing invoked by him, the Gods realise for this (sacrificer) knowing as they do that he has pleased them ... (ŚB I.9.1.3). Thus the sacrificer pleases the Gods by means of the offering and the Gods please him by means of the blessing. The same idea is found at ŚB II.3.4.5. "The sacrifice verily belongs to the Gods and the prayer for blessing to the sacrificer. (yajño vai devānām āśīh yajamānasya). The Agnihotra offering is the sacrifice for the Gods and the approaching (upasthāna) to the fires is the sacrificer's prayer for blessing." ŚB I.9.3.8 also mentions that the sacrificer pleases the Gods by means of the sacrifice. ŚB I.9.1.10 we are told, "whatever oblation the Gods graciously accept, by that he (the sacrificer) obtains great thing ... what the Gods delight in they make mountain high. (yaudhi devā havirjṣante tena hi mahajjayati... yad vai devā havir jṣayante tadapi girimātram kurvate).

Sacrifice is described as the food of the Gods (yajña u devānām annam ŚB VII.1.2.10). The provision of sacrifice as

food of the Gods is made by Prajāpati. Among all the beings Gods went to Prajāpati to demand for the means of livelihood and Prajāpati declared the sacrifice as their food (ŚB II. 4.2.1). The Soma which is identical with the sacrifice (ŚB XIV.1.3.12 - yajño vai somah) is also described as the food of the Gods (JB I.233).

The sacrifice is also the self of the Gods and it was after making the sacrifice their own self that the Gods placed themselves in the firmament (ŚB VIII.6.1.10; for sacrifice as the self of the Gods see also ŚB IX.3.2.7). Sacrifice is the festival of Gods (yajño vai devānām mahah ŚB I.9.1.11). Further the sacrifice is also the undefeated place (aparājitam āyatanam) of the Gods (TB III.3.7.7).

But not only Gods but even other beings are dependent upon the sacrifice. "The beings depend upon the sacrifice (yajnam vā anu prajāh" ŚB I.8.3.27) or "All this depends upon the sacrifice (yajnam hyevedam sarvam anu" ŚB III.6.3.1). "In the sacrifice are all beings entered (yajne hi sarvāni bhūtāni viṣṭāni" ŚB VIII.7.3.21). "The sacrifice is the self of all the beings and of all the Gods (sarveṣām vā eṣa bhūtānām sarveṣām devānām ātmā yad yajnah" ŚB IX.3.2.1).

It is interesting to see how Gods and men co-operate. Soma the king, is the food of the Gods. But he cannot be the food of the Gods until he is pressed. One offers him after

pressing him and having thus made him food of Gods. "whatever he does for the Gods here, the Gods do the same for him (yaddha vā iha devebhyah karoti tad asmai devāḥ kurvanti"). They themselves prospered, make the sacrificer prosper by means of offsprings, cattle and food (JB I.233). Sometimes it is said that the Gods do for the man in the same manner as the man does for the Gods (yādr̥gaha vai manuṣyo devebhyah karoti tādr̥g asmai devāḥ kurvanti JB II.386;390; cp. AB III.6-yādr̥giva vai devebhyah karoti tādr̥givāsmāi devāḥ kurvanti).

The theory of sacrifice as a co-operative institute is sometimes based upon the mutual co-operation and mutual gratification of the Gods among themselves. The Gods were of co-operative nature and we find how mutually co-operating they obtained the sacrifice from Prajāpati, their father. Thus we read that both the Gods and Asuras were the children of Prajāpati. The Asuras were very much proud and went on offering in their own mouths and at the end they were defeated. The Gods, on the other hand, went on offering in each other's mouth. Then Prajāpati gave them himself i.e. the sacrifice (ŚB V.1.1.1; XI.1.8.1f).

Here we find how the Gods were co-operative and hence victorious while the Asuras lacking co-operation were defeated. Sacrifice has the principle of co-operation which would have certainly helped the life of the Aryans to some extent.

Sacrifice and some particular deities :

We saw in general how the sacrifice is a co-operative institute between Gods and men and how Gods were co-operative among themselves. Let us see now how some particular Gods are connected or identified with sacrifice. This will throw some light on the nature of sacrifice.

Sacrifice connected with Indra :

In the Ṛgveda we find Indra so much prominent; that association of any deity with Indra is one of the ways of high glorification. Many small deities are connected with Indra in the Ṛgveda for the sake of elevation and exaltation. The connection of sacrifice with Indra has also perhaps the same purpose. Thus we find the expression "aindro yajñah - sacrifice belongs to Indra" (see e.g. AB VI.9;10). Similarly, a question is asked - "what is the deity of the sacrifice ?" and the answer given is "Indro vai yajñasya devatā" which is followed by the remark - "For, when the deity of the sacrifice was Indra, other deities came according to their shares (GB II.3.23). In the Agnihotra performance three ṛcs are to be murmured while standing between the Āhavanīya and Gārhapatya fires. One of these three ṛcs belongs to Indra and the reason given for this is that Indra is the deity of the sacrifice (ŚB II.3.4.38). The same reason is again given for the words "O Indra, come (Indrāgaccha)", in the Sabrahmahnya call (ŚB III.3.4.18).

Indra is called "the leader of the sacrifice" (Indro vai vajñasya netā). While drawing the Antaryāmacup the following words are uttered "Restrain thou, O might (Maghavan i.e. Indra), guard Soma ! (antaryaccha maghavan pāi somam VS VII.4), after which follows the remark : "The mighty (maghavan) forsooth is Indra; and Indra is the leader of the sacrifice" (ŚB VI.1.2.15). Indra is also called the self (ātma) of the sacrifice and the usual description, viz., the deity of the sacrifice also occurs there. At the end of the Fire-building ceremony, there are eleven samīṣṭayajus oblations; for there are eleven syllables in the Trīṣṭubh which belongs to Indra. "Indra is the self (ātma) of sacrifice; Indra is the deity. One thus finally establishes the sacrifice in him who is the self, the deity of sacrifice. (ŚB IX.5.1.33)).

To make the sacrifice "(associated) with Indra" (sendra) is the purpose of some actions in the ritual. "Among the animals to be called in the animal-sacrifice in connection with the Aśvamedha there is a cow wont to cast her calf (vehat) for Indra ever active (svapasya). The purpose given is to make the sacrifice "(associated) with Indra" (sendra) (vajñasya sendratāyai) (ŚB AIII.2.2.9). After the sacrificial post has been fixed sacrificer is to be made speak touching the post the verse (VS VI.4) in which the word Indra occurs and that is for the sake of making the sacrifice "with Indra" (ŚB III.7.1.17).

Sacrifice is Agni :

The importance of Agni in connection with the sacrifice is obvious. For the sacrifice is performed in the fire (Agni) (agnau hi sarvān yajñān tanvate ŚB IV.5.1.13). Naturally Agni is the essential part of a sacrifice. The importance of Agni for sacrificial performance is very clearly and appropriately expressed when the sacrifice itself is identified with Agni. Thus, for example, it is prescribed that the fire which is produced by means of churning is to be carried to the āhavanīya in such a way that it turns back towards the sacrificer. "For Agni is this sacrifice (esa vai yajño yad agnih)" and it is in the direction of the sacrificer that the sacrifice enters him, that the sacrifice readily inclines to him; and verily from whatsoever Agni turns away, from him the sacrifice turns away (ŚB II.1.4.19 for the identification of sacrifice and Agni cp. also ŚB III.7.1.16; TMB AI.5.2. etc.) Further ŚB IV.5.1.13 Agni is identified with all the sacrifices. "Agni is all the sacrifices (agnir vai sarve yajñāḥ); for all sacrifices are performed in Agni - the domestic (pākayaḥ) as well as others".

Agni is called elsewhere the womb (yonī) of the sacrifice. The performance of sacrifice is a kind of killing and then generating the sacrificer. One pours it as seed into Agni as its womb; for indeed Agni is the womb of the sacrifice (agnir vai yonir yajñasya)(ŚB AI.1.2.2; cp. ŚB III.1.3.28). Next,

Agni is supposed to be the lower half and Viṣṇu the upper half of the sacrifice (agnir vai yajñasyāvarārdhyaḥ viṣṇuḥ parārdhyaḥ) (ŚB III.1.3.1; ŚB V.2.3.6). Similarly Agni and Viṣṇu are the two terminal forms of the sacrifice (ete vai yajñasya antye tanuvau yad agniś ca viṣṇuś ca) (AB I.1)

The work of Agni in connection with sacrifice is to carry the sacrifice or the oblations from men to the Gods. "Agni having become a horse carries the sacrifice to the Gods" (ŚB I.4.1.30). TB II.2.7.4; 11.6 says that Agni carries the oblations to the Gods in the other worlds. Thus Agni has an important role in the sacrifice.

Sacrifice is Viṣṇu :

Sacrifice is very often identified with Viṣṇu. In the Ārbhava Pavamāna to be used on the fifth day of the Dvādaśāha sacrifice, there are verses beginning with "be clarified for the obtaining of booty ..." (RV A.100.6; 7.9; SV II.366-368); where the word Viṣṇu occurs. The significance of this fact is told thus :- "Viṣṇu is the sacrifice (yajño vai viṣṇuḥ). what here (on this day) is not brought about, that one brings about through Viṣṇu (who is) the sacrifice (TMB XIII.5.5). In the sāmsr̥p offerings, performed in the Rājasūya, the last offering is given to Viṣṇu. For sacrifice is Viṣṇu (Viṣṇur vai yajñaḥ) and the offering establishes itself in the sacrifice at the end (TB I.8.2.2). If a dog goes through between the

Gārhapatya and the Ahavanīya, an expiation is to be made in which a ṛc praising Viṣṇu (RV I.22.17) is used. For "Sacrifice verily is Viṣṇu. One pacifies sacrifice by means of sacrifice" (TB I.4.3.6).

Sometimes sacrifice is identified with Śipiviṣṭa Viṣṇu. If Soma is left over from the third pressing, Gaurivīta sāmān based on the verses addressed to Viṣṇu is to be sung. For "Viṣṇu Śipiviṣṭa is the sacrifice, in Viṣṇu is one then established" (TMB I.7.9-10).

The reason why sacrifice is identified with Viṣṇu can be seen in the following story. "The Gods Agni, Indra, Soma, Nakha, Viṣṇu and the Viśvedevas except the two Aśvins performed a sacrificial session ... They spoke, "whoever of us through austerity, fervor, faith, sacrifice and oblations shall compass the end of the sacrifice, he shall be the most excellent and shall then be in common to us all". They agreed. Then Viṣṇu first attained it, and he became the most excellent of the Gods. ... Now he who is Viṣṇu is the sacrifice ..." (ŚB XIV.1.1.1-6). It seems here that the identifications of Viṣṇu and sacrifice is due to Viṣṇu's first attaining of the end of the sacrifice.

In another story Viṣṇu is described to be the same as the sacrifice. The Asuras wanted to possess the world. Then they tried to divide the world. The Gods placing Viṣṇu, this sacrifice, at their head, went to the Asuras. The Asuras offered

the earth as much as Viṣṇu - who was dwarf at that time - would lie upon. The Gods having enclosed him (Viṣṇu = sacrifice) on all three sides, having placed Agni on the east side, went on toiling and worshipping with the sacrifice (ŚB I.2.5.1ff). Here also we get the identification of Viṣṇu with sacrifice. Here Viṣṇu in the form of sacrifice does the work of pervading the earth and this can explain the identification of sacrifice with Viṣṇu.

Viṣṇu was from the beginning connected with fertility, prosperity, benevolence, etc. The sacrifice as we have mentioned is a generation process as well as an important means to obtain various desired objects. The identification of Viṣṇu and sacrifice is very significant from this point of view.²¹

Sacrifice is Prajāpati :

The Brāhmaṇa-texts often identify sacrifice with Prajāpati.²²
 "Verily, the sacrifice which is being spread is Prajāpati (eṣa vai prajāpatir va eṣa vajñas tāyate)" (ŚB IV.2.4.16; 5.5.1; 7.1; V.1.4.1; 2.2.18; 3.4.15; 5.1; 4.4.24; cp. TB.I.4.6.1). "Sacrifice,

21 For Viṣṇu and sacrifice identification and its significance see Gonda, Viṣṇuism, p.79ff; p.80 in particular.

22 For sacrifice and Prajāpati see Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice, p. 78 etc.

verily is Prajāpati (yaṁna u vai prajāpatiḥ)(KB A.1; AV.11; AAVI.3). Similarly we read "Prajāpati, verily is the sacrifice and in him are all the desires and all the immortality"(KB AIII.1. Gb II.2.18 adds "all the iṣṭis"). Many a time Prajāpati is said to be the source of the sacrifice (see the section "origin of sacrifice"). Among the stories of Prajāpati at the origin of sacrifice we find the stories where Prajāpati is said to have given himself in the form of sacrifice, to his offsprings. Then having given himself in the form of sacrifice, to his offsprings. Then having given himself to the Gods he created his counterpart (pratimā) (e.g. ŚB AI.1.3.3; cp.ŚB V.1.1.12; TMB VII.2.1). Here also we find the identification of Prajāpati and sacrifice.

The identification of Prajāpati and sacrifice is very important from the ritual as well as the spiritual point of view. Prajāpati as an important God (or rather, father of the Gods) was at the origin of the sacrifice.²³ For, sometimes we are told that he has seen the sacrifice and sometimes that he has created it. Sometimes we are also told that he gave himself as sacrifice to the Gods. So it is obvious that he himself is the sacrifice. Many stories of the world creation concern with Prajāpati and thus Prajāpati is important in

23 For this see the Chapter "origin of the sacrifice".

cosmological and philosophical speculations. So Prajāpati is the most significant junction where the ways of ritualism and those of spiritualism have come together.

Conclusion :

The sacrificial performance as we saw, consists chiefly in offering something to Gods. But the speculations of the Brāhmaṇa-texts have conceived it as (i) a collection(sambhāra) (ii) paying homage (namah) (iii) a redemption (iv) a journey (v) a process of killing and generating it (vi) a generation process (vii) a cyclic process and (viii) a co-operative institute of Gods and men. Finally it is connected with various deities including Prajāpati. Though the Brāhmaṇa-texts have ritualism as their chief concern, they have also given birth to spiritualism by their speculations on the ritualism itself and the sacrifice and the Prajāpati ideologies are interesting from this point of view.

(B) Guiding principles of the sacrificial performance.Introduction :

Sacrifice is the norm par excellence. It is the birth-place, womb (yonī) of the ṛta which is the norm, order etc. (yajño vai ṛtasya yonih ŚB I.3.4.16). Therefore, efforts are always to be made not to disturb the norm. It is a very essential part of the ritualism, to follow the correct procedure of sacrifice. The expected good result is due only if and when the sacrifice is performed in the prescribed manner. On the other hand, bad consequences follow when there is some flaw in the performance. For the correct performance there are certain guiding principles some positive and some negative which are never to be overlooked. Thus, for example, nothing sacrificial is to be excluded from the sacrifice; or "sameness" (jāmitā) in the sacrifice is to be avoided. These are negative principles. One has to keep the particular measurement, maintain "continuity" (santati), give the sacrifice "firmness" (dhṛti), etc. These are positive principles. The sacrifice is to be performed with great care and these principles are also to be strictly followed. The Brāhmaṇa-texts are dealing with ritualism in their own way, and these principles are lying scattered all over their vast expanse. Let us study these one by one.

Not to exclude any sacrificial thing (from sacrifice) :

One should see that no part of the sacrifice is excluded from the sacrifice (na bahirdhā yajñad bhavati). In the Udaśānīyā iṣṭi a barren cow is to be offered. But if by chance it is found after cutting the cow, that she has an embryo in her, then the question arises as to what is to be done with that embryo. Various alternatives such as exposing it on a tree, throwing it into the water, or burying it in a mole-hill are suggested. But according to the ŚB IV.5.2.16 "It is to be offered to Maruts on the cooking fire of the animal sacrifice. For among the Gods, Maruts are not the oblation-eaters (ahutdāh) and the uncooked embryo is, as it were no oblation (āhuti). The animal-cooking-fire is taken from the Āhavanīya : thus the embryo is not excluded from the sacrifice (tathā ha na bahirdhā yajñad bhavati) (ŚB IV. 5.2.1ff). The omentum in the course of the animal sacrifice connected with the soma-sacrifice is to be taken along between the sacrificial post and the fire. The reason why it is not taken outside the altar along the front of the sacrificial post is that it would be thereby put outside the sacrifice (bahirdhā yajñat kuryuh). Therefore, it is to be taken along between the sacrificial post and the fire so that it is not excluded from the sacrifice (ŚB III.8.2.20).

Of somewhat similar significance is the use of antar plus root 1 with the negative particle na. It is intended

that nothing, which is closely connected with the sacrifice, should be separated from it. Thus according to some, the victim is not to be held on by the sacrificer. The accepted view, however, is that the sacrificer should hold on to it. "For, he would be removed from the sacrifice, were he not to hold on to it (yajñad u haivātmanam antariyād van nānvārabheta). Therefore, he should hold on to it." (ŚB III.8.1.10). In the Darsapūrṇamāsa offerings the butter after being taken, is first put on the Gārhapatya, for the wife of the sacrificer to look at it. "If the wife were not to look at the butter at all, she will stand separated from the sacrifice (atha van nāvakāśayed antariyaddha yajñāt patnīm)" (ŚB I.3.1.20). In the same sacrifice, at the time of touching the offering material the adhvaryu utters the mantra - dhruvā asadan etc. (VS II.6), in which there are the words pāhi mām yajñanyam and by means of these words, the adhvaryu saves himself from being separated from the sacrifice (ŚB I.3.4.16).

Not to deviate from the norm of the sacrifice :

One has to follow the norm of the sacrifice. One has to take care not to deviate from the norm, the correct procedure of the sacrifice. This is expressed by means of the phrase "ned yajñasya vidhāyā ayāni - Lest I would go away from the manner of the sacrifice." For the offering in the Pitryajña which is a part of the Sākamedha - parvan of the Cāturmāsya sacrifices, the butter is to be taken according to some in the

upabhr̥t by twice ladling with the dipping spoon, since there are two after-offerings (anuyājas) here. But this view is to be neglected and ladling is to be made eight times. This is to be done with the thought "Lest I would go away from the manner of the sacrifice". (ŚB II.6.1.13). Similarly in the same performance though the Brāhmaṇa-text substitutes the adhvaryu's call for śrausaṭ (viz. o śrāvaya by om śrāvaya) and āgnīdhra's response (viz., astu śrausaṭ by astu svadhā), Āsuri, a ritualist, wants that the normal manner should be followed and the words o śrāvaya and astu śrausaṭ should be used and vaṣaṭ also be pronounced, "Lest we should go away from the manner of the sacrifice" (ŚB II.6.1.25). Here Āsuri has based his view upon the guiding principle, viz., not going away from the manner or norm of the sacrifice.

Another phrase of the same purpose is "ned yajñad ayānīti - lest I would go away from the sacrifice". The Dākṣāyaṇa offering is a modification of Darsāpūrṇamāsa. In the Darsāpūrṇamāsa offerings the first days in both of them are for the preliminary rites. On the full-moon day there are cakes to Agni and Agni-soma, and on the new-moon day there are cakes to Agni and Indra-Agni (or sāmnāyya to Indra or Mahendra). But in the Dākṣāyaṇa there are the Agni-Soma and Indra-Agni cakes to be offered on the first day in the morning. Then in the afternoon the preliminary rites are done. The second day includes a cake to Agni and sāmnāyya

to Indra if it is full-moon day and a cake to Agni payasyā to Mirta-Varuna if it is new-moon day. The reason for the Agni's cake to be offered on the second day is to preserve a common feature of the Darśapūrṇamāsa - the normal offering. "Lest I should go away from the sacrifice, there is the cake for Agni". (ŚB II.4.4.10. cp.14;18). Thus keeping strictly to the norm without any deviation is the guiding principle asserted in all the cases.

A departure from normality, a deviation from the correct performance is sometimes expressed by the words "to turn aside from the sacrifice - yajñad hval". When the sacrificial post (yūpa) is erected, the corner (which was previously) facing the fire (agniṣṭhā) is to be made opposite the fire. "For, the corner facing the fire (agniṣṭhā) is identical with the sacrificer and fire (Agni) is the sacrificer. Hence were the corner facing the fire to be turned aside, the sacrificer will turn aside from the sacrifice. (hvaled dha yajñad yajmānaḥ). Therefore, the corner (previously facing the fire) is to be made opposite to the fire (ŚB III.7.1.16).

Still another and more powerful expression for the same idea of deviating from the norm etc. is "one goes away from the path of the sacrifice (yajñapathād eti)" etc. In the Ratnin offerings which are a part of the Rājasūya sacrifice offerings are offered even in the houses of those who do not deserve to be associated with sacrifice (ayajñiya) e.g., the

commander of the army (senānī), huntsman (govikarta), etc.
 "One who goes away from the sacrifice, stumbles (hvalati) and one does indeed go away from the path of the sacrifice when one puts those unworthy of sacrifice in contact with the sacrifice ... The path of the sacrifice is Mitra and Bṛhaspati. For Mitra is Brahman and Brahman is sacrifice. Bṛhaspati is brahman and brahman is sacrifice. Thus one returns again to the path of the sacrifice when an offering is made to Mitra and Bṛhaspati" (ŚB V.3.2.4). There are seventeen special victims for Prajāpati, in the Vājapeya sacrifice. According to some the procedure of these victims is after the normal animal sacrifice. But this view is discarded with the remark - "One who goes away from the path of sacrifice stumbles; and one who does in this way (i.e. performs the normal animal sacrifice first and offers the seventeen victims afterwards) goes away from the path of the sacrifice". Therefore, the animal sacrifice for Prajāpati is to be done at the same time when the normal animal sacrifice is done (ŚB V.1.3.14).

To avoid the "sameness (ajāmitā)" :

Efforts are done to avoid repetition, sameness, tautology, etc., and to bring variety in the sacrificial actions. The calling of Idā (idopāhvānam) in the Darśapūrṇamāsa offerings is to be done four times with four different formulae slightly

differing from one another. Thus (i) idā is called hither (idopahūtā); (ii) Hither is called idā (upahūtedā); (iii) May idā also call us (upo asman idā hvayatām) and (iv) idā is called hither (idopuhūtā). If each time only the words idopahūtā are uttered, there will be the fault of "sameness"; and this is avoided by using these different formulae. (ŚB I.8.1.24f). While drawing the Āgrayanagraha in the Agniṣṭoma the words to be uttered among others are "Thou art Āgrayana, a good firstling (āgrayano'si svāgrayanaḥ). Hereby one makes that speech of renewed vigour. If one were to say, "Thou art Āgrayana, thou art āgrayana (āgrayano'si, āgrayano'si) then there would have been the fault of sameness (jāmi). When one utters the words in the way mentioned above, there is no such defect (ŚB IV.2.2.9).

The reason why the sameness is to be avoided can be found in the generation ideology of the Brāhmaṇa-texts. Sacrifice is a generation-process par excellence and, therefore, everything in it must be helpful for the pairing, helpful for the generation. Thus JB I.300 says, "The 'same' (jāmi) is not pairing, not generating. If two men lie together or two women lie together they cannot generate anything except when they get someone making pairing." Further, whatever is "not the same (ajāmi) is generation". Thus the idea of avoiding sameness is connected with the generation.

Undisturbedness of the sacrifice :

There should not be any 'disturbance' in the performance of the sacrifice. After taking the winnowing basket and the Agnihotra ladle during the performance of Darsāpūrṇamāsa offerings, the adhvaryu restrains the speech. The reason is that the speech is identical with the sacrifice undisturbed. When the speech is restrained the sacrifice becomes accomplished undisturbedly (ŚB I.1.2.2). At the time of milking the cows, the adhvaryu keeps silence upto the milking of three cows. Then he thinks "May I extend undisturbed (avikṣubdha) sacrifice" (ŚB I.7.1.15). When the adhvaryu at the time of the second libation (āghāra) takes the two butter spoons he says the words, "May I this day, offer up the butter to the Gods unspilt (askannam adya devebhya ājyam sambhriyāsam) (VS II.8); thereby he means to say, "May I to-day perform an undisturbed (avikṣubdha) sacrifice to the Gods (ŚB I.4.5.1)."

To avoid the criticism of others and the evil results suggested by them :

We find in the Brāhmaṇa-texts differences of opinions about various details in the ritual. Each opinion is supported by some argumentation and many times the opinions of some ritualists are refuted and some particular opinion is accepted or established. It is, however, sometimes found that the

criticism of others is also given some consideration and it is advised that as far as possible one should try to avoid that criticism by performing sacrifice in such a way that there will be no criticism at all.

"Morning litany is the head of sacrifice; Upāmsu and Antaryāma (cups) are expiration and inspiration; speech, verily, is the thunderbolt. Before the Upāmsu and Antaryāma (cups) have been offered, the Hotṛ should not utter speech, with speech as a thunderbolt he would interrupt the breaths of the sacrificer. If one were to say then about him, "With speech as a thunderbolt he has interrupted the breaths of the sacrificer, breath will forsake him", it would assuredly be so" (AB II.21). The cups for the two deities are breaths. The second vaṣaṭ is not to be said for the cups for the two deities. If the second vaṣaṭ is said he would bring to rest the unresting breaths; the second vaṣaṭ call is the ending. If anybody were to say of him, "He has brought to rest the unresting breaths; breath will forsake him"; it would be certainly so (AB II.28). If the animal like a vicious boar, vicious ram, or a dog were to go between the fires whilst the Agnihotra offering is being put, an expiation is necessary. Some poke out the ashes from the Gārhapatya and keep throwing it down from the Āhavanīya, with RV I.22.17 -- "Here Viṣṇu strode ...", saying Viṣṇu is sacrifice : by the sacrifice we thus continue the sacrifice, and with the

ashes we bestrew its track". But this is not to be done; for if in that case any one were to say, "Surely, this priest has scattered about the sacrificer's ashes : he will soon scatter his last ashes, the chief's household will be wailing", then that indeed would be likely to happen (ŚB AII.4.1.4). We find in these examples how some criticism is made and bad effects are shown to be likely. This criticism is to be avoided and then thereby the bad results also become avoided.

Continuity (santati) of the sacrifice :

The sacrifice is a homogenous activity. The performance of sacrifice is considered to be like the weaving of cloth. Therefore, continuity (santati) is expected in the performance of the sacrifice. The continuity (santati) is connected with the "strict order of successive phrases articulated in a total form"¹ and it "forms the essence of the sacrifice."²

The scrapings of the introductory offering (prāyanīyā) are preserved and mingled with the concluding (udayanīyā) offering. This is for the sake of continuity (santati) of the sacrifice; for preventing a breach in the sacrifice (yañāsya avyavacchedāya) (AB I.11). In the performance of the Agnihotra the sacrificial grass is not to be thrown in the fire.

1 For santati cf. Silburn, Instant et Cause p.86 f.

2 cf. Silburn, Instant et Cause, p.86. For the sacrifice as continuous see, Hubert, Mauss, "Sacri." p.60f.

The throwing of grass into the fire indicates the end of the sacrifice. The Agnihotra cannot end before the performance of other sacrifices. Therefore, the grass is not to be thrown into the fire. This is for the continuity of the sacrifice (yajñasya santatyai) (TB II.1.4.9). There are one hundred men clad in armour in order to guard the horse (of the *āśvamedha*) which is let loose. If the unfriendly men were to get hold of the horse, the sacrifice would be cut. In order to preserve the horse and thereby preserve the continuity (santati) and unbrokenness (avyavaccheda) of the sacrifice the hundred men are employed (ŚB XIII.1.6.3). The singing of *santata sāmān* in the *Vyūḍha-dvādaśāha* sacrifice is also for the sake of continuity of the sacrifice as is indicated by the name itself of the *sāmān* (TMB XII.3.7). Similarly the *Br̥hat* and the *Rathantara sāmān*s are continuities of the broken sacrifice (br̥hadrathantare vai vicchin̄nasya yajñasya santatyau. JB II.213; 215).

Tying the knots (barsanaddhi) :

Closely connected with the ideas of the performance of sacrifice as the weaving of cloth and the idea of continuity (santati) is the idea of "tying the knot" at the ends of the sacrifice (which is like a thread or cloth). The first as well as the last of the *ṛcs* which are recited at the time of bringing the soma is to be recited thrice. Then it is said, "Thus one ties the ends of the sacrifice for firmness

(sthemne) for night (balāya) and to prevent slipping (avisramsāya) (AB I.13) yajñasyaiva tad barsau nahyati sthemne balāyāvisramsāya). The same remark is made at other places when at other occasions also the first and the last verse is recited thrice (e.g. AB I.16; 28;29; II.2; KB IX.4) (without the word balāya). ⁶⁸~~AB~~ II.3.11 etc.) Similarly there is pap to Aditi in the prāyañīyā (introductory) offering and in the udayanīyā (concluding) offering. That is "for the support (dhṛtyai) of the sacrifice, for the tying of the knots of the sacrifice (barsanaddhyai) to prevent the slipping of the sacrifice". This is like tying the knots at the both ends of the rope for preventing the slipping (AB I.11).

Neither less (nyūna, ūna) nor more (atirikta) :

The norm of the sacrifice does not allow anything less or more. Excesses and deficiencies were found in the performance of even the old Ṛṣis. Thus we read "when the Ṛṣis were performing the sacrifice, the Gandharvas came near to them. They looked upon thinking "Here surely they have done too much; here they have done too little". When their sacrifice was completed, they pointed out to them saying, "Here surely you have done too much, here you have done too little" whenever they had done too much it was like a hill; and whenever they had done too little it was

like a pit ..." (ŚB 4I.2.3.7-8) whatever in the sacrifice is neither deficient nor excessive that is auspicious (yad vai yajñasy anyūnātiriktaṁ tacchivam) (ŚB 4I.2.3.9).

Accordingly we find places where one is asked to keep strictly to the normal proportion. The lump of clay which is used for the preparing of firepan should be as large as the hole from which it is taken. "For the earth is womb and the clay is seed. Whatever part of the seed exceeds the womb, becomes useless and what is deficient is unsuccessful; but that part of the seed which is within the hole is successful". (ŚB VI.3.3.26). While building the fire altar which is conceived as a bird the right wing is to be contracted on both sides by just four finger breadths and expanded outside on both sides by four finger breadths. One thus expands it as one contracts it and thus one neither exceeds (the proper size) nor one makes it too small (ŚB 4.2.1.4 and following).

If the normal proportion is not followed then, of course, some positive harm takes place. Therefore, those who make three fire-pans (ukhās) instead of one do it in excess; in redundancy. Whatever is done in excess in the sacrifice; that remains over for the benefit of one's spiteful enemy (yad vai yajñe atiriktaṁ kriyate yajmānasya dviṣantaṁ bhrātrvyam abhyatiricyate ŚB VI.5.2.22). The same remark is found when it is prescribed that the measure

of the sacrificial ground should not exceed on the eastern side (ŚB III.1.1.3). In the Āsvina śastā there is redundancy of soma. Whatever there is too much, the enemy of the sacrificer becomes energetic thereby (yad vai yajñasya atiricyate phrātr̥vyas tena yajamānasya pratyudyāmī bhavati KB XVIII 1). The duration of the dīkṣā period is of seven days in the Āsvamedha sacrifice; but "indeed the vital airs depart from those who exceed the duration of dīkṣā (apa vā eteohyah prāṇāḥ kramanti ye dīkṣām atikramanti ŚB XIII.1.7.2)

To maintain the measurement :

The sacrifice has got some measurements and emphasis is given on keeping those measurements intact. It is true that there is no one particular measurement. Sometimes the man (puruṣa) is the measurement, sometimes prajāpati in the form of year, or sometimes Prajāpati the seventeenth becomes the measurement. The numbers three, five, hundred are also said to be the measurements and each measurement has a particular role according to the situation and has its own significance. To conform to the particular measurement at the particular occasion is, therefore, an important guiding principle.

Sacrifice is threefold (trivṛt, tryāvṛt) :

Many actions in the ritual are prescribed to be done thrice and the reasoning given for the justification of the

thrice performance is that the sacrifice is threefold (trivṛddhi vajñah; tryāvṛddhi vajñah). Thus for example, the grains out of the flour of which the sacrificial cake is to be made, are to be cleansed thrice. For the sacrifice is threefold (ŚB I.1.4.23 trivṛt; TB III.2.5.11 tryāvṛt). Similarly the grass is spread threefold in the Darsāpūrṇamāsa sacrifice; for the sacrifice is threefold (ŚB I.3.3.10). The sprinkling of the Pravargya apparatus is also to be made thrice; for the sacrifice is threefold (ŚB XIV.3.1.25). The first one as well as the last one of the sāmīdhenī verses are recited thrice each. The reason for this is, "of threefold beginning are sacrifices and of threefold termination. (trivṛtprāyaṇā hi vajñas trivṛddudayanāḥ) (ŚB I.3.5.6).

The reason why the sacrifice is called trivṛt (threefold) etc. is not given. It can be sought, however, in the story of the origin of sacrifice given by GB I.1.12. Prajāpati practised penance and tortured himself and found this threefold, seven threaded and twenty-one instituted sacrifice. Further we read the three kinds of sacrifices, viz. the seven soma sacrifices; seven pāka-sacrifices and seven navis-sacrifices (GB I.1.12; cp. also I.5.23;25). Thus the description that the sacrifice is threefold probably concerns with the three kinds of the sacrifice.

The threefoldness can be explained in another way also. In the description of the Pravargya ceremony, we are told that

the vessel for offering is to be set down thrice and removed northwards to make it threefold. The reason given is, "For threefold is the performance for the Gods (trivṛddhi devakarma) (KB II.1). Thus whatever performance relates to the Gods is threefold. The sacrifice is obviously the "performance for the Gods (devakarma)"; and as such can be naturally described as threefold (trivṛt).

Sacrifice is fivefold :

The number five, like the number three, has got special significance in the performance of the sacrifice. Sacrifice is often called "five-fold" 'Pāṅkta' and fivefoldness is one of the measurements (mātrā) of the sacrifice (pāṅkto yajñah pāṅktaḥ paśuḥ pañcartavaḥ samvatsarasya eṣaikā mātrā yajñasya ŚB I.5.2.16). In the Prāyaṇīyā offering there are five deities (viz. Pathyāsvasti, Agni, Soma, Savitr and Aditi). The reason for this five as the number of the deities is that the sacrifice is fivefold (AB I.1). The omentum (yapā) is to be offered in five layers - first an underlayer of ghee, then a chip of gold, then the omentum, then again a chip of gold and then again ghee. The explanation of this is given as follows : "The sacrifice is fivefold, fivefold is the sacrificial animal, and the year consists of five seasons" (ŚB AI.7.4.4; cp. AB II.14). The same reasoning is given when it is prescribed that the Puruṣamedha is a five-day's sacrificial performance (ŚB AIII.6.1.7).

There are some fivefold factors to be used in the sacrifice. The first, there are five kinds of oblations, viz. fried grains (dhānā), mush (karambha), pap (parivāpa), cake (purodāsa) and milk-mess (payasyā); secondly there are five syllables, viz., su, ma, pa, va and de. Thirdly, there are five narāśamsas in the sacrifice. The morning pressing has two narāśamsa (cups), the mid-day pressing has also two narāśamsa (cups) and the third pressing one narāśamsa (cup). Fourthly, the sacrifice has five pressings, viz., the victim of the day, the three pressings and the concluding victim (AB II.24; cp. for five kinds of oblations KB AIII.2).

The description of sacrifice as pāṅkta (five-fold) suggests that the sacrifice is conceived as a man. For man is also described to be pāṅkta (fivefold). Thus AB II.14 "This man (puruṣa) is, verily fivefold : hair, skin, flesh, bones and marrow". GB II.6.8 inserts "head (mastiṣka)" in this list and drops "flesh (māṁsa)". For the puruṣa as fivefold see also JB I.198; TMB II.4.2. Further, the year is also fivefold; for there are five seasons. (ŚB I.5.2.16). Again Prajāpati is also said to be fivefold (ŚB A.4.2.23). Thus the fivefoldness seems to be a link connecting the man and sacrifice, year and sacrifice, year and Prajāpati, and Prajāpati and sacrifice.

The reason why the sacrifice is called fivefold may be sought in the story of the origin of sāman. In the beginning

there were only ṛc and sāmān. After being solicited thrice by ṛc the sāmān allowed the union of the two. "They came into order becoming one five, the other five, namely the call (āhāva) and the him-call (hīmkāra), the prelude (prastāra), and the first ṛc, the principal part (udgītha) and the middle ṛc, the response (pratihāra) and the last ṛc and the finale (nidhana) and the vaṣaṭ call. In that the two came into order becoming one five, the other five, therefore, they say the sacrifice is fivefold, the animals are fivefold". (AB III.23; GB II.3.20).

Another likely explanation of the pāṅkta (fivefold) sacrifice is that the sacrifices are divided according to a classification into five kinds viz. Agnihotra, Darśapūrṇamāsau, Caturmāsyaṇi, Paśu and Soma (Aitareya Āraṇyaka II.3.3 - sa eṣa yajñah pañcaviṃśho 'gnihotram darśapūrṇamāsau caturmāsyaṇi puśuḥ somah). TB II.3.6.1-3 mention is made of these same five sacrifices and thus it is explained why the sacrifice is called pāṅkta (fivefold).

Virāj as a measurement :

Virāj is the name of a metre consisting of ten syllables in each foot. This connection of Virāj with the number ten serves for Virāj being a measurement of the sacrifice. Thus the number ten is expected and we get the mention of Virāj. When the sacrificial grass is spread, ten sacrificial utensils

are placed upon it. The number ten of the utensils has got a connection with the Virāj metre having ten syllables. The sacrifice is then said to be identical with Virāj (Virād vai yajñah)³ (ŚB.I.1.1.22). The ten utensils are : winnowing basket (śūrpa), agnihotra-ladle (agnihotra-havanī), wooden sword (sphya), potsherds (kapālāni), wedge (samyā), black antelope skin (kr̥ṣṇājina), mortar and pestle (ulūkhala-musale) and the large and the small millstones (dr̥ṣadupale). The process of Agnihotra offering is compared to the Virāj. "Twice one offers in the fire, twice one wipes (the spout of the spoon), twice one eats (of the milk), and four times one ladles. These are ten acts. There are ten syllables in the metre Virāj and the sacrifice is Virāj (ŚB II.3.1.18).

The reason why sacrifice is identical with the Virāj is told in the story of the sāman. The ṛc and sāman came into order becoming one five, the other five. In that thus they made up as a set of ten, the Virāj, therefore, they say, "In the Virāj, as a set of ten, the sacrifice finds support (virāji yajño daśinyām pratiṣṭhitah) (AB III.23; GB II.3.20).

The importance of Virāj in connection with the sacrifice becomes clear when it is said that one should sacrifice with a sacrifice prospered by means of Virāj. The Virāj is

3 For the identification sacrifice and Virāj see Renou, JA 240 (1952), p.149. At the same place Renou has noted Virāj as an arithmetical measurement and as a desired object of the sacrificer.

identical with the food (annam vai virāt) and then one gives soma to the Gods by making soma food (JB I.233). Therefore, there is many times an effort made to show the mystic connection of Virāj with the sacrifice. This connection is mostly in a mystic manner. But in the sacrifice named Virāj there is a direct connection. "The other sacrifices amount to the Virāj in a mystic manner (parokṣam); but this rite (the Virāj sacrifice) is identical with the Virāj in a visible manner (pratyakṣam) (parokṣam anye yajña virājam sampadvante pratyakṣam eṣa virājam sampannah).⁴ For it contains throughout of tens and tens. Ten-syllable is the Virāj. The food is connected with the Virāj and so it serves for obtaining food (TMB XIX.2.2.4).

The word Virāj is used in a variety of meanings⁴ e.g. dominant, bright, splendid, ruling far and wide, high rank etc. and it is important to note that in the brāhmaṇas the word is used mainly as the name of a metre having ten syllables⁵. In the brāhmaṇas Virāj is not infrequently understood as śrī and anna. Thus GB I.5.4, it reads annam vai śrīr virād annādyam. In connection with the Mitravindā offering we read,

4 For the various meanings of the word Virāj see Renou, JA, 240, p.141 ff; see also Gonda, Viṣṇuism, p.187; the same, Ancient Indian Kingship, p.115 f; the same, Loka, p.27 (n.7).

5 Renou, JA, 240, p.147.

"There are ten deities; ten sacrificial dishes, ten offerings ten dakṣiṇās to priests - the Virāj consists of decades (of syllables) and thus Virāj is śri (prosperity). One thus establishes (the sacrificer) in the Virāj, in śri (prosperity) and anna(food) (ŚB AI.4.1.18).⁶

Thus the sacrifice is identified with the Virāj and efforts are made to connect sacrifice with the Virāj by using it as a measurement - i.e. the number ten.⁷ Again in the concept of Virāj, the idea of "the universe as totality" or "the power of a very high rank representing universal expansiveness" is involved. Because Virāj is a measurement of sacrifice and further also identical with the sacrifices, the sacrifice is also "universal totality" and a power of a very high rank representing universal expansiveness etc. This ^{idea of} power involves the idea of creation, of producing food and refreshment. Thus it helps to understand the working of sacrifice.

Hundred as a measurement :

Another measurement of the sacrifice is 'hundred'. Thus in connection with the Gargatrirātra sacrifice, it is said, "There are hundred cows to be given on day after day."

6 For Virāj and anna see Mauss, Mélanges d'indianisme ... a Lévi, p.333 ff.

7 Renou, JA, 240, p.149.

Hundred is a measurement of the sacrifice (esā vai vajñasya mātṛā yacchatam) (TMB II.15.12; JB II.24). Similarly in the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice a pot (kumbhī) perforated with a hundred holes is to be used. The reason given for the number hundred is that the sacrifice has hundred as its measure (śatamāno vai vajñah) (ŚB XII.7.2.13).

The possible reason why sacrifice has hundred as its measure is that the extent of the human life is often (though not always) considered to be one hundred years and as the sacrifice is identical with the man, this measurement is applied to the sacrifice. We shall further see how man becomes the measurement of the sacrifice in the light of some other particularities.

Man as a measurement of the sacrifice :

Sacrifice is often understood as a man (see further). It is also worth noticing that he is an important measurement of the sacrifice. The man becomes the measurement from two points of view. The first is temporal one and the second is the spatial one.

a) From the temporal point of view :

The sacrifice is identified with the man from the temporal point of view. In order to maintain this the duration of a man's life is considered to be one hundred and sixteen years.

This figure is shown to be correspond to sacrifice, in the following way - "Man is sacrifice. His first twenty-four years are the morning pressing. The Gāyatrī has twenty-four syllables. The ^{morning} pressing is connected with the Gāyatrī. ... His next forty-four [^] years are midday pressing. The Trīṣṭubh has forty-four syllables and the midday pressing is connected with the Trīṣṭubh metre ... His next forty-eight years are the third pressing. The Jagatī has forty-eight syllables. The third-pressing is connected with the Jagatī metre ... (JUB IV.2.1.1 ff). Thus the number of the syllables in the metres is shown to be connected with the number of years of the man's life. Thus the man becomes the measurement of sacrifice from the temporal point of view.

b) From the spatial point of view :

In the explanation given for the identification of the sacrifice and the man there it is clearly mentioned that man (puruṣa) is the measurement of the sacrifice (ŚB I.3.2.1; III. 5.3.1 - "The sacrifice is made of the same extent as the man - yāvāneva puruṣas tāvān vidhīyate ...") The fifth oblation in the Audgrabhaṇa-homa which is performed in the course of dīkṣā ceremony is to be offered with the mantra in the Anuṣṭubh metre. The verse visvo devasya netuḥ ... (VS IV.8) though in the Anuṣṭubh metre has thirty-one syllables instead of thirty-two. "There are ten fingers (of hands) ten toes (of feet),

ten vital airs, and the ātman is the thirty-first. This much constitutes man. The sacrifice is of the same proportion as a man (puruṣasaṃmīto yajñah). Thus whatever its measure, to that extent one takes its possession (ŚB III.1.4.23). Here the man is taken into consideration from the spatial point of view and is shown to be a measurement of sacrifice.

The spatial measurement has further two divisions. The one is called the avamā mātrā (the lowest measurement) and the other paramā mātrā (the highest measurement). It is prescribed, "One measures it (fire-altar) by finger-breaths. For the sacrifice is the man; it is by means of him that everything is measured here. Now the fingers are his lowest measurement (ŚB A.2.1.2). Sometimes similar remarks are made when the paramā mātrā or the highest measurement is mentioned. The highest measure of the fire altar is said to be as much as a man with upstretched arms (ŚB A.2.2.6).

Prajāpati as a measurement :

Prajāpati is often identified with the sacrifice. He is also an important measurement. It is famous that the brāhmaṇa-texts often understand the year (samvatsara) as identical with Prajāpati. This samvatsara-Prajāpati identification becomes a measurement of sacrifice. Secondly, Prajāpati is often called the "seventeenth" (saptadaśa) Prajāpati. This seventeenth Prajāpati is also another measurement.

a) samvatsara-Prajāpati as a measurement :

There are in the Vajapeya sacrifice the offerings named āpti. The number of those āpti offerings is twelve. The reason for this number twelve is that there are twelve months in a year (samvatsara) and the year is Prajāpati and Prajāpati is the sacrifice (ŚB V.2.1.2). In the preparation of the altar for the Darśapūrṇamāsa the first line of enclosure is drawn around with six sacred utterances (vyāhrtis) and second with six. Thus together there are twelve utterances. There are twelve months in a year and the year as Prajāpati is the sacrifice. As large is the sacrifice, as wide its extent is so wide it becomes enclosed (ŚB I.2.5.13). At the Tanūhavis offerings six dakṣiṇās are to be given. For there are six seasons in a year. The year is the sacrifice, Prajāpati; thus as great as the sacrifice is, as large as its extent is, by so many dakṣiṇās, it is invigorated. One may optionally give twelve dakṣiṇās; for there are twelve months in a year ... Or one may give twenty-four; for twenty-four half moons in the year ... (ŚB III.2.2.3-5). Here it will be seen how Samvatsara-Prajāpati is a measurement for some particular details of sacrifice.

The thirteenth or the intercalary month is also sometimes taken into consideration while maintaining the year-ideology. The dakṣiṇās of daśapeya are either twelve or thirteen for there are twelve or thirteen months in the year.

The year is Prajāpati and Prajāpati is identical with the sacrifice (ŚB V.4.5.23). The seasons at times are supposed to be five (instead of six) and then the prescription that one metes out soma five times suits well. For the sacrifice is of the same measure as the year (samvatsarasammito vai vajñah) and there are five seasons in a year (ŚB III.9.4.11).

Taking for granted that there are thirteen months in a year Prajāpati is considered to be the fourteenth one. Though there are sixteen mantras in the first Anuvāka of the mantras to be used in the Śatarudrīya offering which takes place at the Agnicayana ceremony taking into consideration only fourteen mantras, it is said, "There are here fourteen mantras - there are thirteen months in a year. Prajāpati is the fourteenth and Prajāpati is Agni. As great as Agni is, as great as is his measurement with so much food one thus gratifies him (ŚB IX.1.1.16). Here we find that Prajāpati the fourteenth in connection with the year (having thirteen months) becomes the measurement.

b) seventeenth Prajāpati as a measurement :

Prajāpati the seventeenth (saptadaśah prajāpatih) is connected with the sacrifice. Thus "He who knows the seventeenth Prajāpati as connected with the sacrifice, his sacrifice is not injured" (GB I.5.21). Accordingly the figure seventeen has sometimes an important role as a measurement.

In the Vājapeya are drawn seventeen Somagrahas and seventeen surāgrahas, for the reason that the seventeenth is Prajāpati and Prajāpati is the sacrifice. As great as the sacrifice is as great is its measure, with that much one thus wins its truth, its prosperity, its light (ŚB V.1.2.10-11. JB I.2 remarks, "The Vājapeya is seventeenth" - saptadaśa u vājapeyaḥ). Similarly in the Rājasūya seventeen kinds of waters are gathered for consecration. For Prajāpati is seventeenth and Prajāpati is the sacrifice (ŚB V.3.4.22). There are sixteen 'digits (kalā)' in the man. What is a digit to men, that a syllable (akṣara) to the Gods. Loma (hair) is two syllables, tvak (skin) two, asṛk (blood) two, medas (fat) two, māṁsa (flesh) two, snāva (sinew) two, asthi (bone) two, majjā (marrow) two, - that makes sixteen digits and prāṇa (vital air) which circulates therein is the seventeenth Prajāpati (ŚB X.4.1.17). Here we get the reason why Prajāpati is the seventeenth. When we take into account how Prajāpati is connected with the figure seventeen, we can understand the remark that seventeen is a measurement of sacrifice (yajñasya mātṛā) (ŚB I.5.2.17).

Conclusion of the study of measurements of the sacrifice :

We have seen above the various measurements of sacrifice. In the case of some of these the word mātṛā meaning the measurement is directly used; in some other cases it is only implied. Already in the RV X.71.11 we have got the expression "yajñasya

mātrā, measurement of sacrifice" (cf. also Nirukta, I.8).

But we see in the Brāhmaṇa-texts the developed ritualism and also details about this concept of the measurement of sacrifice. Of course, as it is usual this concept is not to be found developed systematically but to keep the measurement is often mentioned and this is a very important guiding principle in the ritualism of the Brāhmaṇas. This concept of keeping the measurement is closely connected with the guiding principle of avoiding anything too much or too little in point of proportion or measurement.

To preserve "freshness (ayātayāmatva)" :

Another guiding principle can be named as "To preserve freshness (ayātayāmatva)". Great care is to be taken to preserve the "freshness" of the sacrifice and of the details used in the course of performance of the sacrifice. When anything is used it becomes "exhausted (yātayāma)" as it were. There is no vigour, soft, usefulness, etc. in the thing when it is used. Thus, for example, the ashes of Agni are yātayāma and, therefore, useless (ŚB VII.1.1.11 yātayāma vā ^{śn}anḥer bhasma). When the belly gets the food, the food becomes eaten and used up (yātayāmarūpa) (ŚB VIII. 6.2.13). In the sacrifice it is a guiding principle to avoid exhaustion; and therefore, whatever is used up and hence exhausted, is not to be used until it is refreshed.

After the last fore-offering (prayāja) one sprinkles the oblation-materials with butter one after another and thereby he replenishes them and again makes them fresh (ayātayāmāni karoti). For butter is fresh (ayātayāma hyājyam) (ŚB I.5.3.25). The reason why the butter (ājya) is described as fresh is told by TB ^{III.3.4.1} ~~I.5.3.25~~ - "Prajāpati was ghee and honey. From the honey part he created the beings. Therefore, in honey there is generation. Therefore, they do not perform with it; for it is used up (yātayāma). They perform with butter. For butter is not used up (fresh)". In the soma-sacrifice those which in the forenoon were invitational verses (puronuvākya) one makes them offering verses in the afternoon; This is for the sake of freshness (KB VIII.9). The purpose of the udavasānīyā offering at the end of the soma-sacrifice is to bring freshness to the sacrifice, which has been exhausted. Agni is identical with all the sacrifices and, therefore, in order to obtain the sacrifice again a cake is offered to Agni. And thus sacrifice is obtained. Again the offering verses to be used are in the Pañkti metre (verses of five feet). The sacrifice is also fivefold (pāñkta) and thus the sacrifice is obtained and made fresh (ŚB IV.5.1.13).

To have "sapfulness (sarasatā)" :

Closely connected with the idea of ayātayāmatva is the idea of sapfulness (sarasatā) and efforts are made to have 'sapfulness' for the sacrifice.

The reason why soma is bought near a vessel of water is that water means sap and one thus buys soma full of sap (ŚB III.3.3.18). Though the animal is killed at the time of morning pressing, it continues being cooked till the third pressing. "Thereby one puts sap into the whole sacrifice, imbues all the sacrifice with the sap" (ŚB IV.2.5.13). The third pressing is the pressing "with the sap extracted (āhitarasa)". The Āditya-cup (graha) is full of sap (sarasa). One makes the third pressing full of sap by means of that cup (KB XVI.1; XXX.1). "Metres of the one who sacrifices with soma become extracted of the sap. In that, they offer the oblation to the minor deities (devikās) verily, it serves to confer the sapfulness on the metres" (KB XX.1). The high-altar (uttaravedī) for the second Sādyaskra sacrifice is the threshing floor (of the field). For here the sap of the corns comes together and by means of it one makes the sacrifice full of sap (TMB XVI.13.7).

To give "support (dhṛti)" :

The sacrifice is expected to be well-supported and efforts are to be made to give support to it. There are the savanīya puroḍāśas used for the purpose of giving the sacrifice a support (dhṛti) so that it should not sink (TB I.5.4.2). Here the sacrifice is supposed to be a ship and efforts are made to save it by giving it a good support. The wife of the sacrificer helps the sacrifice as a support (dhṛti) and does not let it be loose (asithilambhāva) (TB III.3.3.5).

To give 'firmness' (asithilatva etc.) :

Giving support is mentioned by us and there we get a reference to the asithilambhāva in connection with "support (dhṛti).". Elsewhere some efforts are to be made for giving the sacrifice "firmness (asithilatva" etc.). Everything in the sacrifice should be firm. When in the performance of Darśapūrṇamāsa offerings the adhvaryu puts the pot on the Gārhapatya hearth he utters the text (VS I.2) of which the following words are a part. Viśvadhā asi paramena dhāmna dṛmhasva māhvāḥ (All-holding art thou; stand firm by the highest law; do not waver). By means of these words he steadifies (dṛmhati) it, renders it firm (asithila) (ŚB I.7.1.11). Similarly when at the time of laying down the two pressing boards the words raksohanau vām valagahanau paryūhāmi vaiṣṇavi (you are the rakṣas-killers, the charmkillers, Viṣṇu's own, I surround) are uttered, one thereby steadifies (dṛmhati) them, makes them firm (asithila) (ŚB III.5.4.22).

To give "firm foundation (pratiṣṭhā)" :

The sacrifice should always stand on firm foundation (pratiṣṭhā) and efforts are made to give it a firm foundation. The sacrifice has two foundations the spatial one and the temporal one. The concept of Pratiṣṭhā is related mainly to the spatial foundation and that of saṁsthā (see further) to

the temporal one.⁸ Let us see Pratiṣṭhā first.

In the performance of Agniṣṭoma the hotṛ priest should conclude the Vaiśvadeva śastra touching the earth. Then it is remarked, "Thus in the very place where one brings together the sacrifice, in that at the end one established it firmly (tad yasyām eva yajñam sambharati tasyām eva enam tadantataḥ pratiṣṭhāpayati) (AB III.31). The reason given for the samīṣṭayajus performance is that after creating the sacrifice while performing it, one establishes it firmly where there is the firm foundation of it (ŚB I.9.2.27). At the end of the Pitryajña occurring in the performance of the Cāturmāsya sacrifices the sacrificer having pulled down the tuck of the nether garment, pays homage to the father. "Six times homage is paid to them, since there are six seasons and fathers are identical with the seasons. One thereby establishes firmly one's sacrifice in seasons" (ŚB II.6.1.42).

While studying the concept of pratiṣṭhā Gonda has rightly mentioned the importance and function of pratiṣṭhā in ritualism. "Thus an "establishment" in the ritual sphere can by means of the supposed parallelism between sacrificial

8 For these two kinds viz. spatial and temporal foundations see Silburn, Instant et Cause, p.61.

acts and processes in nature or society automatically produce a desired "establishment" of a person or object".⁹

To reach the end of the sacrifice (saṁsthā etc.) :

While pratiṣṭhā is the spatial foundation saṁsthā is the temporal foundation. The performance of the sacrifice should be carried on upto the end and when it is thus completed, fully done then alone the sacrifice becomes temporally founded.

Thus the sūktavāka represents saṁsthā (end, temporal foundation) of the sacrifice and one who knows this obtains whatever is to be obtained by means of saṁsthā. Further he also attains the end of the life-time (i.e. obtains full life). Similarly śamyorvāka is the pratiṣṭhā (spatial foundation) and one who knows thus obtains whatever is to be obtained by means of pratiṣṭhā (ŚB XI.2.7.28-29).

To reach the end and thereby to give the temporal foundation is very important and therefore it is said, "One, who has reached the end of the sacrifice, has become auspicious (bhadram hyabhūd yo vajñasya saṁsthām agamat) (ŚB I.9.1.4).

When the action is completed, done fully, that can become fruitful and give the expected results establishing totality, unanimity, etc.¹⁰ There is a difference of opinion about

the offering of omentums offered to the different deities

9 Gonda, "Pratiṣṭhā" in Samnāvyaṅgaṇam, 1954, p.4.

10 Silburn, Instant et Cause, p.102.

should be offered differently. But Yājñavalkya holds that all are to be offered simultaneously on the basis of this guiding principle of reaching the end of the sacrifice. By means of the simultaneous offering the end of the sacrifice is reached quickly (añjasā yajñasya samsthām upaiti) (ŚB XIII.5.3.6).

Another synonymous expression is "yajñsya^a udṛcam gam". At the hiranyāhuti in the purchasing of soma with a cow there is a formula "... May I obtain a support for my body (tanvo yantram aśīya " VS IV.18). In interpreting it, ŚB III.2.4.12 says, "He who reaches the end of the sacrifice, indeed, obtains a support for his body. Hence thereby one means to say, 'May I reach the end of sacrifice'" (for similar interpretation see ŚB III.1.1.12; 3.26). In the formula used for the strengthening (āpyāyana) of soma there also the desire to reach the end of the sacrifice is expressed (yajñasya udṛcam gacchema VS IV.7) (ŚB III.4.3.18). There is danger if the end of the sacrifice is not reached; and good result if it is reached. "The Áśvamedha is the royal sway (rāṣṭra). It is after royal sway that these strive who guard the horse. Those of them who reach the end become (sharers in) the royal sway that these strive who guard the horse. Those of them who reach the end become (sharers in) the royal sway, but those who do not reach the end are cut off from royal sway (ŚB XIII.1.3⁶.cp.XIII 4.2.17; TB III 8.9.4).

The mere end of the sacrifice is not to be reached before it is supported by the temporal foundation (samsthā) which is the real end of the sacrifice. The Samiṣṭayajus is the end (anta) of the sacrifice (see e.g. ŚB IV.4.5.2; 5.1.5). Therefore in the Dikṣaṇīyā offering which is just in the beginning of the soma-sacrifice, no samiṣṭayajus is to be performed for, one would then reach the end (anta) of the sacrifice before the real end (samsthā) which is the temporal foundation of the sacrifice (ŚB III.1.3.6).

Protection of the sacrifice :

A great care is to be taken for the safety and security of the sacrifice. There is always a fear that the evil beings like rakṣases and Asuras would create obstacles in the sacrifice or ruin it. The performance of sacrifice is as is shown elsewhere a kind of "killing", but side by side it is a kind of "generation" also. Meyer has pointed out that the evil beings like rakṣases are specially notorious for their aggressiveness against newly born children and they also rob the retas.¹¹ Thus they are in hindrance in a generation process like sacrifice. So to remove these evil beings is very essential for the safety and security of the sacrifice.

11 Meyer, Trilogie, I p.136, on the asuras and rakṣases disturbing the sacrifice, see also Rönnow, Trita Āptya, p. 11.

In the Firebuilding ceremony when the Āhavanīya fire is built up two offering spoons are to be laid down. The first is of the kārṣmarya wood and the second of the udumbara wood. The kārṣmarya spoon is to be laid on the southern side; and this is expected to remove the rakṣases, the fiends and make the sacrifice free from danger. The Gods have also used this spoon for the same purpose (ŚB VII.4.1.38).

In the Darsapūrṇamāsa offerings the winnowing basket and the Agnihotra ladle are heated on the Gārhapatya fire. At that time the following formula is to be uttered. "Scorched is the rakṣas, scorched are the enemies. (pratyustāṁ rakṣaḥ pratyustā arātayaḥ)" (VS I.7a) or "Burnt out is the rakṣas, burnt out are the enemies (niṣṭaptāṁ rakṣo niṣṭaptā arātayaḥ)" (VS I.7b). The explanation for this is given as follows: "The Gods when they were performing the sacrifice, were afraid of a disturbance on the part of the Asuras and Rakṣases. Hence by this means one removes them from here, at the very beginning of the sacrifices" (ŚB I.1.2.2-3).

Appropriateness, efficiency, success, prosperity etc. (Samṛddhi):

Every care is taken to see that the sacrificial action or detail is appropriate, efficacious, successful, prosperous (samṛddha) and to avoid whatever is inappropriate,

inefficacious, unsuccessful, unprosperous etc. (vyrddha).¹²

"Whatever there is, in the sacrifice, appropriate that is samrddha (yadyajñe bhirūpam tat samrddham" AB I.16, 19; 20; 22; KB I.1; III.2.9; VIII.6 etc.) and therefore verses appropriate for a particular rite are to be used. In connection with the appropriateness of the verses we often read the following statement - "That in the sacrifice is samrddha, which is samrddha in the form, that rite which as it is performed, the ṛc describes (etad vai yajñasya samrddham yat karma kriyamānam ṛg abhivadatī" AB.I.4; 13; 16; 17; 25; 28; 29; II. 28^{etc}, GB II.4.2, adds yajus to the ṛc in this context).

In the reestablishment of the fire (punarādheya) according to some, the yajus formulas are not to be used and the materials (sambhāras) are not to be collected (again). For both of these have already been done in the first establishment of the fire. This view is, however, not to be accepted. It is further prescribed that the yajus-formulas are to be used and the materials are to be collected.

12 On the words samrddha and vyrddha see Silburn, Instant et Cause p.6; - On retrouve cette hantise de la totalité et du parçèvement liée de façon immédiate et essentielle à l'efficacité du rite dans samrddha qui s'exprime ces deux notions en leur union indissoluble; samrddh participer totalement à quelque chose, être approprié et de ce fait, être efficace. Vyrddha est par contre ce qui est inefficace et inapproprié. L'efficacité est donc une participation formelle totale.

This is for the sake of appropriateness, success etc. of the sacrifice (TB I.3.1.4-5). For, as the establishment is done again, the yajus formulas are also to be used again, and the materials (sambhāras) are to be collected again. Thus all the things are done again and are appropriate to each other. In the Rājasūya, there is a series of various offerings to Anumatī etc. in the beginning of the sacrifice. In that series a cake on eight potsherds is to be offered to Agni; and curds is to be offered to Indra. The dakṣiṇā for this offering is a draught ox. It is for the sake of appropriateness etc. (samṛddhi) for as the ox is a draught ox it belongs to Agni, and because it is an ox, it belongs to Indra. Thus, it is appropriate (samṛodha) and therefore it helps for achieving success (TB.I.6.1.8.9). The beginning of the Áśvamedha sacrifice is to be done on the Citrā constellation. For the Áśvamedha is a citra i.e. astonishing rite (citram vā etat karma yad áśvamedhaḥ). So there is appropriateness (samṛddhi) (TB III 8.1.1-2).

While efforts are made to bring samṛddhi to the sacrifice it is obvious that efforts are also made to avoid vyrddhi which means inappropriateness etc. In the Áśvamedha performance the horse is to be bound by means of a cord. But it is not to be bound without the yajus-formula; for "inappropriate(vyrddha) in the sacrifice, assuredly is whatever is performed without

yajus-formula (vyrddham u vā etad yad ayajuskena kriyate)"

The adhvaryu uses then the formulas imām agrbhnan rasanām etc.

(VS 11.2. ff). This is for the sake of appropriateness,

success etc. (samṛddhi) (ŚB 11.1.2.1; cp. TB 11.8.3.2).

In the Sautrāmaṇi, for the preparation of surā melted rice

is to be bought, according to some from a eunuch. They argue

thus : "The eunuch is neither woman nor man and the Sautrāmaṇi is also neither an offering (iṣṭi) nor an animal sacrifice".

But this view is rejected by saying that the Sautrāmaṇi is

both an offering (iṣṭi) and an animal sacrifice; and the

eunuch is something which is inappropriate (vyrddha) among

men. Those who bring it from eunuch, bring failure into the

very beginning (mouth) of the sacrifice. Therefore, the

buying of the melted rice is to be done from the vendor of

soma. For the Sautrāmaṇi is soma. One thus puts a form of

soma into the very beginning (mouth) of the sacrifice. This

is for the success, prosperity (samṛddhi) of the sacrifice

(ŚB 11.7.2.12).

It is often found in the Brāhmaṇa-texts that there are many thinkers who have their own way of thinking which may be

different from the general way of thinking. Thus though, in

general the Brāhmaṇa-texts and all the ritualists agree that

there should be appropriateness etc. (samṛddhi) in the

sacrifice and in appropriateness etc. (vyrddhi) is to be

avoided, Āruṇi has something different to say. According to

him the inappropriateness is not so harmful. He says, "If one supposes oneself worse (pāpīyān) if there is anything inappropriate (vyṛddha) how will he be able to sacrifice at all ? (kim sa vajeta yo vajñasya vṛddhyā pāpīyān manyate)". He implies thereby that it is very difficult to be very very careful and keep the appropriateness everywhere (and avoid inappropriateness etc. in toto). He not only thus allows some inappropriateness but going further he says, "I for one, become better by means of the inappropriate (vyṛddhyā) in the sacrifice". (ŚB IV.5.7.9; cp. ŚaṅB I.6.2-3). Here we see how some thinkers are akin to actuality and hence prefer to emphasize the "spirit" rather than the "letter" of the ritual precepts.

To have "congruence (salomatā)" :

Somewhat connected with the idea of samṛddhi and rūpa-samṛddha is the idea of "congruence (salomatā, salomatva)". In the Brāhmaṇa-texts we find efforts for maintaining the congruence. A mule is in general not to be given as a dakṣiṇā. When the creatures were seized by Prajāpati, it went forth. Prajāpati took away its seed. Then the mule became barren. "It is, therefore, not to be given as a dakṣiṇā because it exceeded (went away) (atyaricyata). But the mule can be given as dakṣiṇā for an excessive (atirikta) sacrifice, for the sake of congruence (salomatvāya). Thus it should be given as a

dakṣiṇā at the laud of the Ṣoḍaśin. The Ṣoḍaśin is an excessive (atirikta) sacrifice. Thus one gives an excessive dakṣiṇā at the excessive sacrifice for the sake of congruence (TMB VI 1.4-5). Gaurīviti Śāktya saw the sāman Gaurīvita as an excess of the brahman. When the praise is made by means of the Gaurīvita Ṣoḍaśin, excess is put in the excess for the sake of congruence of the sacrifice (yajñasya salomatāyai) (JB I.204). As regards the congruence (salomatā) in the number of potsheds for the sacrificial cakes in the three pressings of the soma sacrifice, it is said; "If in the morning pressing eight potsheds are made, then in the mid-day pressing eleven and in the evening pressing twelve potsheds are made, that becomes incongruent in the sacrifice (viloma tad yajñasya kriyate). Therefore at all the three pressings eleven potsheds are to be made; for the sake of congruence of the sacrifice (yajñasya salomatvāya) (TB I.5.11.4). The congruence is shown in the following manner about the constellations on which Agni is to be established. The two fires (viz. Gārhapatya and Āhavanīya) are to be established on the kṛttikās. For the Kṛttikās belong to Agni. Thus it will be congruent to establish Agni on the constellations belonging to Agni. (ŚB II.1.2.1).

Completeness, Perfectness etc. (Sarvatva, Kṛtsnatva) :

The sacrifice is always supposed to be a complete, whole unit by itself. Nothing, thereof should remain incomplete,

lacking, deficient etc. Therefore, efforts are made to achieve completeness, perfectness etc. Thus for example the black antelope skin is taken by the sacrificer for the sake of completeness of the sacrifice by itself. (yajñasya eva sarvatvāya) (ŚB I.1.4.1). Similarly, in the Darsāpūrnāmāsa offerings after having the last cow milked, having poured a drop of water into the pail which he has made the milker use and stirred it, one pours it to the milk. One does this for the sake of completeness of the sap (rasdsyo sarvatvāya) (ŚB I. 7.1.18). The sacrificer covers himself in the ceremony of dīkṣā with the garment. This is for the sake of completeness. For man puts upon himself his own skin thereby. According to the Brāhmaṇas the skin of the cow was originally that of man and it was transferred from man to the cow by the Gods seeing the utility of the cow, in order to protect it from rain, cold and heat. They put the skin of man on the cow. Therefore man has no skin now. The covering of the body by means of the garments means to have a skin again and to be completed (ŚB III 1.2.13 ff) The wives of the king at the time of the intercourse with the horse in the āśvamedha sacrifice, wear gold ornaments with a view to completeness of the intercourse (mithunasya eva sarvatvāya) (ŚB XIII.4.1.8).

Sometimes words like kṛtsnatā (perfectness), kṛtsna (perfect) are used and efforts are made to attain it. For the performance of the Agnihotra, waters are to be brought.

For waters are perfect and by bringing the waters the oblation - material becomes perfect (haviṣa eva kṛtsnatāyai) (KB II.1) Among the sambhāras to be collected for the establishment of the fire, gold is brought. Thereby one establishes Agni with seed (saretasam) and perfect (kṛtsnam) (ŚB II.1.1.5).

Conclusion :

These guiding principles throw good light upon the sacrifice in the Brāhmaṇas. The sacrifice was a measured, well supported, self - complete activity. Everything in it was to be done with great care and all the details were to be done in a rigorously correct manner. The correct way of the sacrifice was never to be overlooked. Thus it will be clear how ritualism had grown to a high degree in the minds of the Brāhmaṇa-authors. It may appear at the first sight that to the Brāhmaṇa-texts the sacrifice in itself is so much important that it is not a means to an end but an end in itself. Thus Winternitz remarks "Das Opfer ist hier nicht mehr ein mittel zum Zweck, sondern es ist Selbstzweck, ja, der höchste Zweck des Daseins".¹³ But it is worth remarking that this sentence of Winternitz is rather hyperbolical and is not to be taken literally. For, though it is obvious that the sacrifice was performed and thought over with the utmost seriousness, it was, nevertheless, considered as a

13 Winternitz, GIL, p.171 (HIL, p.172).

means to the result which is also described by the brāhmaṇa-texts themselves. The Brāhmaṇa-texts maintain that the result is sure to accrue provided that the sacrifice is performed with great care and faith (śraddhā). The ritualism of the brāhmaṇas is no doubt mechanical in its working and does not allow any fault, mistake, omission etc. in the sacrificial performance, but we also see how in this rigorous ritualism also some thoughts can be seen according to which the so called mistakes etc. also if they happen at all, can produce good result. Thus we may recall the examples of the atirikta (in excess) and the nyūna or ūna (deficient) or the vyrddha (inappropriate, unsuccessful, etc.) which are normally to be avoided because they produce bad result, can give good results also. Thus whatever there is nyūna, that is generative and whatever atirikta is helpful to obtain cattle (ŚB AI.4.4.8). We have already referred to Aruṇi's view about the vyrddha in the sacrifice as leading to good result. Thus in the ritualism itself the "spirit" is not totally neglected in the preference of the "letter".

(C) The nature of sacrifice:
Comparisons and identifications

Introduction:

To have a clear idea about sacrifice as conceived by the Brāhmaṇa-texts it will be very useful to take into consideration the comparisons and identifications of sacrifice, which occur in the Brāhmaṇa-texts in the course of descriptions of some particulars sacrifice or some sacrificial rites scattered all over the Brāhmaṇa-texts. In such descriptions often direct or indirect comparisons or identifications are found. Sometimes sacrifice is compared to some inanimate things or to some animals. Sometimes sacrifice is identified with some deities also. Here it will be interesting and useful also to study these in some details.

Sacrifice as a garment (vāsas) :

The sacrifice is often understood as a garment and the performance of sacrifice is described in terms of extending, spreading or weaving a garment.¹ Among the dakṣiṇās to be given for the Traidhātavī Udavasāniyā iṣṭi, there are three garments to be given to the Adhvaryu; and the reason for this is as follows; The Adhvaryu "spreads"

1 For the metaphorical description "weaving (le tissage)" see Silburn, Instant et cause, p. 86.

(tanute) the sacrifice and the garments are (also) "spread" (ŚB V.5.5.18). Thus the comparison of sacrifice and garment is suggested here. Again, the performance of Dvādasāha is said to be like spreading a garment (tantram vā etad vitāyate yad dvādasāhaḥ (TMB I.5.6).

The very root tan meaning to extend, to stretch, (to weave) etc. ~~which~~ is frequently used in connection with sacrifice, for conveying the performance of the sacrifice and this implies that the sacrifice is understood as a garment. Thus, by means of speech (vāc) they extend all the sacrifice-vācā sarvaṃ yajñam tanvate (TMB XIII.12.3; CP. KB XXIX-3 - vācāiṣva tat sarvato yajñam tanvate). We often get expressions like "The Gods spreading the sacrifice (devā ha vai yajñam tanvānāḥ" e.g. ŚB III.3.3.16; 4.2) or "The Gods spread the sacrifice (devā vai yajñam atanvata" e.g. AB VI.4.11) or the passive form "the sacrifice is being spread (yajñas tāyate" e.g. ŚB IV.5.1.5, GB I.1.22).

Sometimes the root tan is used with the prefix vi as in "He verily spreads the sacrifice (yajñam eva vitanoti ŚB I.1.1.12). Similarly the noun ātāna formed from the same root with the prefix ā, is applied to sacrifice (yajño vā ātānaḥ ŚB III.8.2.2) and implies the comparison of sacrifice with garments.

The root tan with the prefix sañ implies the "continuity" of spreading after some break. Thus if there is any mistake, the sacrifice which is like a garment, is supposed to be torn cur, broken, etc. If the fire is extinguished that is a kind of cut. Then the fire is to be brought from the Gārhapatya fire to the Āhavanīya fire and a prayer is to be offered in the mind. "Mind is Prajapati. Sacrifice belongs to Prajāpati". One thus "spreads continuously" the sacrifice by means of mind (manasaiṣa yajñam santanoti) (TB III 7.1.2.3) The idea of sacrifice as a garment is implicit here.

AB III.18 also we get the idea of sacrifice and garment comparison. "Just as one continues (samnidadhyāt) putting together a garment with a needle (sūci) so one continues by means of the inserted verses (dhāyyās) putting together the breach (chidra) in the sacrifice who knows thus".

The comparison of sacrifice and garment suggests the nature of sacrifice, namely that of "spreading", being "continuous", "one" "synthetic" etc. The guiding principle santati (continuity), which has been already discussed above is also based upon the sacrifice and garment comparison. If there is any cut in the garment, it mars its beauty. Similarly mistake in the sacrifice affects its efficiency. Therefore, the further implication of this comparison is that one should perform the sacrifice correctly and carefully.

Sacrifice as a water-jar (udadhi)

Sacrifice is sometimes understood as a water-jar; and care has of course, to be taken that there are no clefts (chidra) therein. The mistakes in the sacrifice are like clefts to the water-jar in the form of sacrifice. One of the names of sacrifice is Makha² (for makha - sacrifice see ŚB VI.5.2.1; XIV.1.2.9; TB III.2.8.3 etc.) The etymological explanation of the word given in the Brāhmaṇas is as follows. "Makha is a name of the sacrifice; because it has the power of preventing the cleft (chidrapratishedhasāmarthyāt). kha means chidra and mā is its prevention. "Let nobody create any cleft to the sacrifice". This is the explanation of the word makha and it suggests that no cleft (chidra) i.e. mistake etc. is permissible in sacrifice. It is further added that the sacrifice which has a cleft leaks like a broken water-jar (udadhi) (GB II 2.5). The causes of cleft (chidra) and those of leakage (sru) are also described elsewhere but without direct identification of sacrifice with water-jar. Thus it is said that one should not pass over a sentence of the Nivid. If one were to do so, one would create a cleft

2 For the word makha, see Gonda, Viṣṇuism, p. 167f.

Mayerhofer Wörterbuch p. 542 f.

in the sacrifice. (AB III.11). The idea of covering up of the cleft then follows. Thus, for example, it is said, "What part of the sacrifice leaks, that leaks towards the speech (vāc). The Anustubh is the speech and Viṣṇu is the sacrifice. By means of the speech one covers the cleft in the sacrifice" (TMB IX.6.10).

The comparison, direct as well as indirect, of the sacrifice to water-jar suggests how mistakes should not be done in the sacrifice and if they are done how the sacrifice is harmed. This ultimately means that one should perform the sacrifice very carefully.

Sacrifice as a hare (śāśa)

"As is the hare so is the sacrifice. (yathā vai śāśaḥ evaṁ yajñah)" (JB II.395) One who seeks to catch the hare letting it run away cannot catch it. One who seeks to catch it not letting it run away can catch it. Those who say to leave (the Darsāpūrṇamāsa offerings from the sacrificial session) want to catch while allowing the sacrifice to go away. Therefore, they should not be left.

This comparison is primarily concerned with the performance of Darsāpūrṇamāsa offerings in the course of a sacrificial session. One cannot leave a thing and get advantage out of it. So by leaving aside any sacrificial rite one cannot get its result. Therefore, the Darsāpūrṇamāsa offer-

ings are to be performed. Secondly, it is suggested that in the course of performance of any sacrificial rite there should not be any omissions due to negligence etc. The full performance of all the details is required. One should be careful enough to see that nothing which is due is being left.

Sacrifice as a black-antelope (kṛṣṇa):

"The sacrifice ran away³ from the Gods in the form of a black antelope and roamed about. The Gods having thereupon found it ~~and~~ stripped it of its skin. They brought it (the skin) away with them. Its white and black hairs are the saman and the black ones the ṛc. The brown and yellow ones represent the yajus text. The story is told for prescribing the black antelope's skin to be used for husking and bruising the rice (ŚB I.1.4.1-2; CP TB III.2.5.6; 6.1-2). The comparison of sacrifice and black antelope signifies the relations between the sacrifice and the vedic recitations. It also suggests that the sacrifice goes away if there are any mistakes and therefore one has to be careful.

Sacrifice as a deer (mṛga):

TMB VI.7.10 describes the sacrifice to be of the

3 On sacrifice running away, cf. Keith RPV, p.458.

nature of a deer (mṛgadharma). At the Bahiṣpavamāna, the priests move somewhat stooping, For up-stream (pratikūlaṁ) from here (from this earth), as it were, is the world of heaven; stealing along, as it were, they move. The sacrifice indeed is of the same nature as the deer (mṛgadharma vai yajñah) - in order to sooth, not to terrify the sacrifice. Sāyana explains the word mṛgadharma as follows - Sacrifice has the nature of running away like the deer and the priests move without making any noise, lest the sacrifice the deer would run away.

The sacrifice is here said to be fleet like deer; it runs away if there is any mistake or omission. Thus here also emphasis is given upon the correct performance, carefulness etc.

Sacrifice as a cart (anas) :

The sacrifice is sometimes described as a cart⁴.

4 cf. Renon, JA, 241 (1953), p. 178 f. "Le sacrifice est volontiers conçu comme un char; nombre d'expressions du rituel védique s'expliquent en partant de l'idée d'attelage, qui évoque à la fois la circulation^{*} "physic" à l'int^{eur} de l'aire sacrificielle la circulation invisible des dieux et en particulier d'Agni,

When soma is to be taken down from the cart it is to be taken down between the shafts of the cart. For the sacrifice is a cart and thus soma is not put outside the sacrifice (ŚB III.9.3.3). The rice required for the Darśapūrāṇamāsa sacrifice is also to be taken from the cart. For the cart and sacrifice are identical. Moreover the cart represents abundance (bhūmā) and sacrifice is also abundance; and thus surely abundance is gained. (ŚB I.1.2.6). The two spoons (srucau) are described as the two yoke-fellows (yujau).

"They are yoked when they are used... They are ^{yoked and} unyoked at the after-offerings (anuyājas) and then again they are ^{and unyoked} unyoked.... Hence one yokes and then unyokes and again yokes [^] (ŚB I.8.3.2-7). The comparison of the sacrifice to the cart is implied when it is said that the sacrifice carries the oblations when it is yoked with the Brahman and metres (AB III.4+5). The metres when kindled carry the sacrifice (i.e. the cart in the form of sacrifice) to the Gods (ŚB I.3.4.6). The metres are said to be the (draught) animals of the gods. As the harnessed cattle, here on the earth, draw for the man, so do the harnessed metres draw the sacrifice for the Gods (ŚB IV.4.3.1. cp. I.8.2.3). Again the statement "One yokes

mais aussi caractere "dirigé" ordonné, tendu, des actes liturgiques et de la pensée qui les commande".

the sacrifice when one spreads it (yunkte vā etad yajñam yad enam tanute ŚB I.9.2.32) implies the cart-sacrifice comparison.

Sacrifice as a chariot :

TB III.3.7.4-5 we find that the sacrifice is compared to a cart as well as to the chariot. In the darsāpūrṇamāsa sacrifice at the time of āghārahomas one āghāra (libation) is made by adhavaryu while he is sitting and the other while standing. Then it is remarked "As one would yoke a cart or a chariot so also the adhvaryu yokes the sacrifice."

Sacrifice is compared to a chariot⁵ also. The fourth Sādyaskra sacrifice is described as cakrīvān which according to Sāyana means " a chariot with wheels." As by means of a chariot having wheels one can go wherever one wants, by means of this sacrifice one can get any desire fulfilled. (TMB XVI. 15.4). When the dakṣiṇās are called "internal fastenings (śleṣma)" of the sacrifice, the comparison between sacrifice and chariot is implied. A chariot devoid of fastenings is not able to carry. "Even as a chariot provided with fastenings one is sure to attain the reaching of the desired object, so one attains

5 For the sacrifice as a chariot see Gonda, VIJ, Vol.3 (1965), p. 172.

through the sacrifice with dakṣiṇās whatever one wishes".

(TMB XVI.1.13). When the Auśanaḥ and Kāva sāmāns are described as the reins (raśmī), it is implied that the sacrifice is a chariot (TMB VIII. 5.16). If there is no proper adjustment of speech (= the priests named hotṛ, adhvaryu and udgātṛ) and mind (= the priest brahman), in the course of the performance of the sacrifice, the sacrifice fails just as a man with one foot or a chariot with one wheel fails (AB V.33) and the sacrifice does not fail if there is proper adjustment of the priests just like the two footed man or a two-wheeled chariot (AB V.33; JUB III.4.2.1; ŚaṅB.I.5.4; GB I. 3.2.). The description of the Darśapūrṇamāsa offerings as "running the race" (ŚB XI-1.2.10) is very much connected to the sacrifice-chariot ideology.

Further, sacrifice is described as a chariot of Gods leading to the heaven. "Sacrifice is the chariot of Gods (Devaratho vā eṣa yad yajñah) and the ājya and the praugaśastras are its inner reins" (AB II.37). Similarly, "Sacrifice is a chariot of the Gods; the introductory and concluding offerings (prāyanīyā and udayanīyā) are the two sides (or "the two horses") of it. He who makes them alike, just as one can perform a journey as desired by driving in a chariot with two sides, so safely he attains the world of heaven. He who makes them unlike, just as one cannot perform a journey as desired by driving on in a chariot with one side only,

so he does not safely attain the world of heaven. Therefore, the introductory and concluding offerings must be alike; the introductory offering ending with the śamyuvāka and concluding offerings ending with the śamyuvāka (KB VII.7). A detailed metaphorical description of the sacrifice as the devine chariot is found as follows - "One who knows the chariot of the Gods becomes possessor of chariots. The sacrifice is the chariot of Gods (yajño vāva devarathah). The Bahiṣpavamāna is its front-part-of-the-chariot, Brhad and Rathantara are its two horses; the four ājyastotras are its cords (yoktrāṇi); the two Pavamānas are its reins (abhīśū); the Ausana and kāva sāmans are its two sides (paksasī); the Naudhasa and Pāleya are its two axel pegs; the Vāmadevya is its driver's seat; Yajñāyajñiya is its middle place; and the Man is one who sits in it (JB I. 129-130)⁷. Even the two churning sticks (aranīs) are metaphorically called the divine chariot (devaratha) and it is added that when the fires are "mounted" on the two aranīs the sacrificer attains safely the world of heaven (KB II.6).

6 Keith, RBT, P. 387, n.2 to KB VII.8 (of. also the same, JRAS, 1911, p. 1040).

7 Translation based upon Caland JB in Auswahl p. 34 f.

The comparison of sacrifice to a cart or a chariot may lead us to understand the nomadic life of Āryans before they were settled. In the nomadic life they must have naturally been helped by these vehicles. Meyer⁸ rightly pointing out this makes us refer to the following story - "Gods and Asuras, both of them sprung from Prajāpati and were contending. The Gods drove about on wheels (i.e. carriages) and Asuras stayed at home. The Gods while driving about on wheels found this rite (Fire-building ceremony). As the Gods saw this rite while they were driving on wheels, therefore the formulae in the performance are with sacrificial cakes (see ŚB VI.8.1.1). This story can very well throw light upon the importance of wheeled carriages and the sacrifice is the life of the ^{vyāh}Āsuras as well as upon the connection of the wheeled carriage and the sacrifice.

Sacrifice as a ship (nau)

The sacrifice is sometimes described as a ship⁹. While soma is being carried after it has been purchased, among the eight verses the following words are uttered "... Let us mount that ship fair-crossing (sutarmā) by which we may pass over all evils". (RV VIII.4⁺2.3). Then it is

8 Meyer, Trilejic, III.259.

9 For the sacrifice as ship cf. Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice, p. 88.

commented upon by these words "The ship fair-crossing is the sacrifice (yajño vai sutarmā nauḥ). The ship fair-crossing is the black antelope skin (kṛṣṇājinaṁ vai sutarmā nauḥ). The ship fair-crossing is the speech (vag vai sutarmā nauḥ). Verily, thus having mounted upon speech with it, he crosses over to the world of heaven (AB.I.13)¹⁰. While glorifying the importance of sacrifice it is said that those who have not offered sacrifices cannot sail across (taranti) the words (anistayajñā na taranti lokān) (GB.I.5.25) and here it is suggested that sacrifice is a ship useful for crossing over the worlds.

Elsewhere the sacrifice is described as the divine ship (daivyeṣā naur yad yajñah) and in connection with the Auśana and káva sāmāns it is said "The ship which is driven by the father and the son remains uninjured. The sacrifice is the divine ship. These father and son drive it afterwards; that is for the uninjuredness of the sacrifice. Therefore (among those) who ascend the ship, it is the father and the son who first ascend the ship" (JB.I.166)¹¹

There is a fulfilled metaphor in which first the

10 cf. Keith, RBT, p. 116 f.

11 Translation based upon Caland, JB in Auswahl, p. 54.

Bahiṣpavamāna is described as a ship leading to heaven and then the whole sacrifice in general is said to be a ship leading to heaven. "The Bahiṣpavamāna chant is truly a ship bound heavenwards; the priests are its spars (sphyāḥ) and ~~ores~~ (aritrāḥ) - the means of reaching the heavenly world. If there is a blameworthy one even that one (priest) would make it (that ship) sink. He makes it sink as one who ascends a ship that is full would make it sink. And indeed every sacrifice is a ship bound heavenwards (tad vai sarva eva yaḥṇo nauḥ svargyā) and hence one should seek to keep a blameworthy (priest) away from every sacrifice". (ŚB IV 2.5.10). If the priest brahman who really speaking protects the sacrifice is any how negligent, or away from the sacrifice, the sacrifice sinks down like a broken ship. As the (sunk down) ship is occupied by the creatures in the sea, the sacrifice is in a similar manner occupied by the evil spirits (GB II.2.5). Here the importance of good priests and carefulness ^{and} ~~are~~ maintained and the bad consequences if there is any blameworthy priest or if the priest brahman becomes careless are told.

Elsewhere the Agnihotra is understood as a ship. "Agnihotra, truly is ship (that sails) heavenwards (naur ha vā eṣā svargya yad agnihotram). The āhavanīya and the Gārhapatya are the two sides of that same heavenwards bound ship and that milk-offerer is its steersman. When he (the

sacrificer) walks up towards the east then he steers that (ship) eastwards towards the heavenly world, and he gains the heavenly world by it ... (ŚB II.2.3.15-16). Elsewhere Svadhā is described as the golden ship and then it is said that the sacrificer ascending it goes to the heaven (JB I. 29). The resemblance of the sacrifice ^{to the ship} is merely suggested when it is said that the brahmen priest causes the sacrifice to cross over (tārayati) GB II.2.5).

The sacrifice - ship ideology is continued in the Upaniṣads; but while in the Brāhmaṇas we read that the sacrifice-ship is helpful to cross over the worlds, in the Upaniṣads we read that the sacrifices are like unfirm ships (plavā hyete adrdhā vajñarūpāḥ. Mundakopaniṣad I.2.7) and thus these sacrifice-ships are ridiculed there.

The significance of the comparison of the sacrifice to a cart or to a chariot or to a ship is similar in each case. The sacrifice is supposed to be a very effective means to obtain various kinds of results. The vehicles and ships are used in order to reach any particular place. The sacrifice like cart etc. is useful for attaining the result, especially heavenly world etc.

Sacrifice as a horse :

Sacrifice is said to have gone away from the Gods,

and assumed the form of a horse. The Gods rushing after it, took hold of its tail (vāla) and tore it out and having torn it out, they threw it down in a lump and what had been the hairs of the horse's tail they grew up as those plants (of aśvavāla- grass) (ŚB III 4.1.17; cp TMB VI.7.18). Therefore, the prastara-bunch is to be made of aśvavāla-grass. In this story the sacrifice is understood as a horse. JB.I.83-84 describes the sacrifice as a divine horse (daivyo vājī) "One who knows the divine horse (vājī) becomes possessor of vigour (vājī). Sacrifice is, verily divine horse (yajño vāva daivyo vājī)", Who ascends an angry horse in the human world the horse injures him. Similarly, if the divine horse in the form of sacrifice is unpacified, then it injures one who ascends it. At the time of Bahispavamāna chant, the adhvaryu c̣rawls taking a bunch of grass in his hand. Then the following words are to be uttered - etad ahaṁ daivyaṁ vājīṁ sammā-rjmi. Thus a kind of pacification is made and then there is no harm (JB I 83-84).

The sacrifice-horse comparison seems to be connected with the idea of "reaching the desired result" and for that purpose the sacrifice-horse is useful.

Sacrifice as a bird (vayas, pakṣin) :

Sacrifice is sometimes described as a bird. "The sacrifice is fashioned like a bird (vaya iva ha vai yaṁno vidhīyate). The Upāṁsu and Antaryāna (grahas) are its wings and the upāṁsusavana (stone) is its body. They repose without being moved until the evening soma-feast. The sacrifice is spread along; but what is spread along moves, whence those birds fly spreading their wings, not drawing them in. At the evening soma-feast they are again used; whence these birds fly drawing in their wings to fold them. This indeed is after the manner of the sacrifice (ŚB IV.1.2.25-26). When the sacrifice went away from the Gods, it wandered in the form of a Suparṇa i.e. the well-winged bird; the falcon (TMB XIV.3.10). Again, the sacrifice named Pakṣi ("winged") is equal to a bird (TMB XIX.10.1). The sacrifice named śyena (falcon) gets its name from a bird. "The swiftest of the birds is the falcon; just as the falcon catches (other birds), in just the same way he (the sacrificer) catches him (his rival) by this incantation rite (ṢaḍB II. 8.3). The comparison of the sacrifice to bird is extended when the Trivṛt stoma is compared to a swift bird (JB III.309). Similarly about the first Caturdaśarātra sacrifice it is said that the days of this sacrifice are "winged" and whatever wish is desired that is obtained by these days (TMB XXIII.3.7). The Sauparṇa sāman is called pakṣi (^w"sing^{ed}") and ~~he~~ who knows

this ~~be~~ having become pakṣī ("winged") and luminous obtains the holy worlds (TMB XIX.11.8). The days of Trīṃśadrātra are also called "winged" and all desires are fulfilled by means of them (TMB XXIV.3.3). The sacrificial session named Dṛtivātavator ayana is also "winged" and by means of it one can reach to whatever desired object, for, a winged bird reaches wherever it wants to go (TMB XXV.3.4).

It will be seen here how the comparison of sacrifice to the bird is also connected with the result of the sacrifice. The sacrifice or the sacrificial details are shown to be efficient to enable the sacrificer to reach the desired object; for the bird obtains whatever is desired immediately. Similarly sacrifice which is like a bird is an effective means to get the result.

Sacrifice as a Tree :

The comparison of sacrifice to tree is indirectly suggested in some passages. Thus, for example, the inserted verses (dhāyyās) and offering verses (yājyās) are the root (mūlam) of the sacrifice. If the different inserted verses and different offering verses are used, then the sacrifice will be uprooted (unmūlam kuryāt) (AS III.31; GB II.3.22). Here the idea of sacrifice as a tree is merely suggested by using the metaphoric description of dhāyyās and yājyās as root. The same metaphor is used in connection with silent

praise (tūsnīmsāmsa). If the priest wishes that the sacrificer should be homeless the silent praise is not to be recited. Then the sacrificer comes to ruin along with the sacrifice which being without a "root" fails to ruin (AB II.32).

The sacrifice and tree comparison suggests the firmly foundedness, deep-rootedness of the sacrifice and this adds to the effectiveness of it.

Sacrifice as Speech (Vāc) :

The sacrifice is very often identified with the vāc. We get statements like "sacrifice, verily is the speech (vāg vai yajñah)" (e.g. AB V.24; ŚB I 7.1.15; III 1.3.27; 2.1.38; TMB VI.7.11 etc.). Sometimes, merely the Dvādaśāha sacrifice is identified with the vāc. Thus vāg vai dvādaśāhaḥ (TMB XII 5.13) or vāg vā eṣa pratatā yad dvādaśāhaḥ (TMB XIII.5.10; JB III.177).

One of the reasons of this identification is that vāc has played an important role in the bringing of soma for the sacrifice "Soma, the king was among the Gandharvas. The Gods, and seers meditated on him, 'How shall soma, the king come hither to us ?' Vāc said, 'The Gandharvas love women; with me as a woman do ye barter it'. 'No', said the Gods, 'How could we be without you ?' She replied, 'Still do ye buy. When ye will have need of me, then shall I return to you'.

'Be it so' they replied. With her as a stark naked one, they brought soma, the king ... " (AB.I.27). Further we find that the sacrifice and vāc are shown to have husband and wife relation. Thus when the Gods and Asuras obtained their inheritance, the Gods obtained the mind which is identical with the sacrifice and the Asuras obtained vāc. The sacrifice like a male called thrice the vāc - the female and she came at the third call. Then the Gods obtained the vāc. The sacrifice united with her... (ŚB III.2.1.18 ff). One more reason for the identification may be that sacrifice is based upon the vāc (vāci yajñah pratiṣṭhitah TMB XI.5.28).

It is obvious that the vāc is the threefold vedic literature. The vāc is divided into three kinds - ṛc-verses, Yajus - formulas and the sāman-tunes (ŚB VI.5.3.4; tredhā vihitā hi vāk; ṛco yajūṃsi sāmāni, ŚB X.4.5.2. makes slight difference - sā vā eṣā vāk tredhā vihitā ...).

Thus the most important reason for the identification of the sacrifice and vāc is that the vāc i.e. the vedic literature has been used immensely in the course of sacrificial performance. Thus we find such remarks - "By means of vāc, the sacrifice is spread (vācā yajñas tāyate" KB VII.9; X.5 XVI.1) or "They, verily, spread all the sacrifice by means of vāc (vācā vai sarvaṃ yajñam tanvate" TMB XIII.13.3). Thus by means of the vāc, i.e. the vedic literature the sacrifice is

performed. This will lead us to see the relations between the vedas and the sacrifice.

The sacrifice and the Vedas :

Constant use of vedic recitations in the performance of the sacrifice shows glaringly the close relations of the sacrifice with the vedas. "Sacrifice is acquired by and ^{as it were,} grasped/by the vedas (vedair yajñah abhipannah grasitah" GB I.1.37). GB I.1.38 we read, "This sacrifice is based upon the vedas (ayam yajño vedesu pratisthitah"). As the rivers flowing to different directions have various names, but when they go to the sea, they lose their names and are called "sea" alone, similarly, all the v das with all their ancillary literature come to be called sacrifice (yajñ) when they meet with it. (GB I.2.10).

The threefold knowledge :

The sacrifice is identified with the threefold knowledge. (trayī vidyā) i.e. the three vedas viz. the R̥gveda, the Yajurveda, and the Sāmaveda (Saiṣā trayī vidyā yajñah) (ŚB 1.1.4.3). Similarly a remark is made by ŚBK VII.5.3.8 "Thus much is the sacrifice as much is the threefold knowledge. By means of this threefold knowledge the sacrifice is performed (etāvān vai yajñah yāvatyeṣa trayī vidyā. Etayā hi trayyā vidyayā yajñam tanvate") (Cp.ŚB II.5.5.10). The end of the sacrifice

is reached by means ṛc, sāman and yajus (ṛksāmābhyāṃ vai yajur bhir yajñasyodrcāṃ gacchanti) (ŚB III.1.1.12). The Gods followed the way of satya. The satya is described as the same the threefold knowledge (trayī vidyā) i.e. the three vedas. The Gods spoke, "Let us spread the satya by performing the sacrifice (yajñam kṛtvedam satyam tanavāmahai" ŚB IX.5.1.18). Similarly JB I.358 narrates a story in which Prajāpati asked the Gods to spread the sacrifice by means of the three-fold knowledge (trayena vedena).

GB I.2.8 describes how four vedas are connected with the sacrifice. The ṛc forms the body of the sacrifice, the yajus is connected with its movement, the sāman with its lustre and the bṛghvaṅgirases (i.e. the Atharvavedic mantras) with the water. GB I.5.28 we get the description of how the sacrifice is projected by the four vedas. It is important to note here, while the other Brāhmaṇa-texts always refer to the three vedas only, the GB invariably refers to the four vedas. In the ŚB where we know the order of the use of the vedas we are told as follows - The Gods performed sacrifice accompanied by yajus first, then by ṛc and then by sāman (yajuṣā ha vai devā agre yajñam tenire atha rcā atha sāmā) (ŚB IV.6.7.13; cp. V.5.5.5.). Here we find no referente to the Atharvaveda. It can be said that there was some reluctance among the authors of these Brāhmaṇa-texts for the ritual use of the Atharvaveda and the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa ^{ich} ~~when~~ belongs to the AV. alone gives some place to the Av.

Sometimes importance of some particular veda-branch is mentioned emphatically. Thus "Whatever of the sacrifice is done without a yajus-formula, is unsuccessful (vyrddham̐ vā etad yajñasya yad ayajuskenā kriyate" ŚB XIII.1.2.1.; TB III 8.3.2) Thus the importance of yajus is emphatically stated. Similarly "There can be no sacrifice without sāmā, they say (nāsāmā yajño' stitvā) (ŚB I.4.1.1.). The sāmā is the sap of all the vedas according to ŚB XII 8.3.23; and GB II 5.7. TS VI 5.10.3-4 importance of ṛc is given in comparison of ṛc with other veda branches. "Whatever of the sacrifice is done accompanied by a sāmā or yajus is loose; whatever by ṛc is firm (yad vai yajñasya sāmā yajusā kriyate śithilam̐ tad yadr̥cā tad dr̥dham̐")

Concluding remarks :

We saw the identification of Vāc and sacrifice and reasons for this identification. As Vāc is the same as the vedas we also saw the relation between the vedas and the sacrifice. Vāc and sacrifice identification and relative points are very important in understanding the "ritualism" in the Brāhmanas. The particular words have a particular effect and the use of them in the ritual in the prescribed order accent etc. is essential. Vāc represents the "letter" of the sacrifice. We have seen how KB VII.9; X.5; XVI.1 or TMB XIII.13.3 say that by means of the speech the sacrifice

is formed. But it is also worth noting that AB III.11 says that by means of mind the sacrifice is performed (manasā vai yajñas tāyate manasā kriyate). This mind represents the "spirit" of the sacrifice and the "spiritualism" also has some place side by side with "ritualism".

The same blend of "ritualism" and "spiritualism" can be found in the identification of the sacrifice and man (purusa) or Prajāpati which we shall see in the following.

Sacrifice as a man (purusa) :

(a) Metaphorical descriptions :

The sacrifice is very often described to be a man (purusa) "The sacrifice is man; the morning pressing is the upper breaths; the midday pressing is the body and the third pressing the ^{lower} breaths (KB XXV.12). The sixteen āhutis in the Darsapurnamāsa are identified with the various limbs of the body and then a remark is made, "There are sixteen offerings; for man consists of sixteen parts and the sacrifice is the man (purusa)" (ŚB XI.1.6.36). Accordingly there are many descriptions where some particular sacrificial rite^{re} is described to be some part of the body. Thus for example the Tūṣṇīmśamsa is identified with the eye of the sacrifice (AB.II.32). Elsewhere the butter portion (ājyabhāgas) are identified with the eyes (ŚB I.6.3.38; XI.I.6.29; 7.4.2).

Many factors of the sacrifice are understood as the "head" (śiras) of the sacrifice. The Pravargya rite is described as the head of the sacrifice (ŚB III.4.4.1; ŚB XIII.3.1.13 29) and when the Pravargya ceremony is performed the head is, as it were, put on the sacrifice (TMB VII.5.6; ŚBXIV, 3.1.15). Sometimes the Mahāvīra pot which is used in the Pravargya rite is said to be the head of the sacrifice (KB VIII.3). In similar manner, many other details such as the Ātithyeṣṭi (AB I.17; 25; ŚB III.4.1.16; 26), the second libation (ŚB I.4.1.5.5; III.7.4.7; cp ŚB III.3.3.12; VI 5.2.1), the fire pan (ukhā) (ŚB VI.5.3.8; 4.15) etc. are identified with the head. There is in the Brāhmaṇa-texts, no consistency in identifying a particular detail with the particular limb. Thus the Ātithyeṣṭi is identified with the mouth of the sacrifice also (TB II 2.2.6). Similarly the Āhavanīya is also called the mouth of the sacrifice (ŚB III 5.3.3). The high altar (uttarvedi) is the nose of the sacrifice (ŚB III 5.1.12). ~~The high altar (uttarvedi)~~ The Uṣṇih and Kakubh are supposed to be the two nostrils of the sacrifice and then it is added "Therefore although being the same metre, they both convey in different ways the sacrifice. Therefore from each of the nostrils, although they are similar, the two breaths issue in a different way" (TMB VIII.5.4.).

The following is a more detailed description. The Havirdhāna is identical with the head, Āhavanīya with the mouth, sadas with the belly, ukthas with the food, the mārjālīya with the arms ... (GB II.5.4), The sixteen offerings in the Darśapūrṇamāsa are shown to be identical with the sixteen parts of the human body. "There are five vital airs (prāṇas) (two ears, two nostrils and one mouth) not including the eyes. They are the five fore offerings (prayājas) and the two butter-portions (ājyabhāgas) are the eyes. The sviṣṭakṛt is the same as the downward vital air (avāṇ prāṇah). The three after offerings (anuyājas) are the three male organs (i.e. the penis plus two testicles). The four Patnīsaṃyājas are the two arms (bahū) and the two thighs (ūrū). The idā is this vital air (in the centre). The invitatory and offering formulas are the bone and the offering material (havis) is the flesh (māmsa) (ŚB XI.1.6.29).

The reason why the sacrifice is understood to be a man is given as follows, "The sacrifice is the man(puruṣa). The sacrifice is the man for the reason that the man (=sacrificer) spreads (performs) it, and that being spread it is made of exactly the same extent as the man. That is the reason why the sacrifice is the man (puruṣa)" (ŚB I.3.2.1. III.5. 3.1.). Here the sacrifice and man identification is explained on the basis of the sacrificer and sacrifice identification. The same can be seen in another explanation of the sacrifice

and man identification. The two oblations for the fire-altar added to the nine samīṣṭayajus oblations are remarked in the following manner. "Two-footed is the sacrifice; and Agni is the sacrificer. As great as Agni is as is his measure, with so much one complete^s the sacrifice". (ŚB IX 5.2.31). Again the sacrifice is the body of the sacrificer and the Rtvijs prepare his body. Thus the man (puruṣa) who is identical with the sacrifice is the sacrificer himself and he becomes the measurement of the sacrifice. The sacrifice as we have shown elsewhere, is the microcosm and the basic principle of life. Therefore the puruṣa and sacrifice comparison and identifications have the latent philosophical forces of the later times.

Sacrifice as the universal principal of life :

Sacrifice as the "one that blows (yo'yaṁ pavate)".

Sacrifice is identified with the wind (vāta) by ŚB III. 1.3.2 . It is, however, remarkable that many a time we get the identification of the sacrifice and wind in an indirect manner. The expression used for this kind of identification is "This one verily is the sacrifice which blows (ayaṁ vai yajñah yo'yaṁ pavate)". Further we read: It (the wind identical with the sacrifice) has two paths - speech and mind (vāc and manas). For by speech and mind the sacrifice proceeds .. (AS V.33; GB I 3.2; cp JUB III.4.2.1; ŚB I 9.2.28; II.1.4.21

IV 4.4.13). ŚB XII 1.1.1 and GB I.1.4 say "This, that blows here is the sacrifice. If they want to obtain who consecrate themselves for a year long sacrificial session".

This identification of wind and sacrifice leads us to the Prāṇa ideology in connection with it. "This one that blows to the sacrifice. He blows alone here. He when entered into the inner part of the man, he is divided into ten parts. From the vital airs (prāṇa) thus disturbed, it (the sacrifice) is born from out of its womb..." (ŚB XI.1.2.3). Here the sacrifice is described to be the Prāṇa.

ŚB XIV 3.2.1 describes the sacrifice as the self (ātman) of all the beings and all the Gods (sarveṣāṃ vā eṣa bhūtanāṃ sarveṣāṃ devānāṃ ātmā yad yajñah)."

The next stage in this course is obviously the identification of the sacrifice and brahman (ŚB III 1.4.15; V.3.2.1) (KB XXI.5 identifies Agniṣṭoma with brahman;) which in the later philosophical thought became the highest principle in the philosophical thought.

Concluding remarks :

A general review of all the comparisons and identifications will be of some importance. We know that the Brāhmaṇa-texts are not systematic, consistent or logical

texts of scientific nature. Therefore we do not get any coherent picture of sacrifice described by the Brāhmaṇa-texts. It is for us to select the scattered passages about what the Brāhmaṇa-texts understand by the word yajña. The comparisons and identifications of sacrifice which we described above give the following principles about the sacrifice.

- (1) The sacrifice is a very serious activity and one has to be very careful in its performance.
- (2) It is sure means to any result provided of course it is performed correctly.
- (3) The sacrifice is closely connected with the vedic lore, the vāc (speech) so much so that it has been identified with it. But not only the vāc ("letter") but also manas (mind) ("Spirit"), is important for the sacrifice.
- (4) It is also identical with Man (puruṣa). This identification forshadows the philosophical ideas about the later Puruṣa and spiritualism.
- (5) It is further identical with Atman and Brahman which also are the ideas very important in the philosophical thought.
- (6) Thus the Brāhmaṇa-texts which are primarily devoted to the "ritualism" also pave the path of the "spiritualism".

(D) The Microcosm and Macrocosm

While studying the doctrine of sacrifice in the Brāhmaṇa-texts we have to take into consideration the relations of the ritual sphere, i.e., the microcosm and the actual world i.e. the macrocosm. Sacrifice is conceived as the microcosm and whatever happens in the microcosm is reflected in the macrocosm and whatever happens in the macrocosm is also reflected in the microcosm. The Brāhmaṇa-texts maintain that ^{can} one/control the natural phenomena by means of the rites, formulas etc.¹ But the rites themselves are sometimes based upon observations in the world. Let us see ~~the~~ relations between microcosm and macrocosm by means of a few illustrations.

Sacrificial rites influencing the world :

The rites performed during the course of the sacrifice have effect upon the worldly affairs. The first layer of the fire altar is equal to the terrestrial world and the filling of soil means cattle. Thus in covering the first layer with filling of soil one covers the terrestrial world with cattle.

1 cp. Oldenberg, Die Lehre der Upanishaden, p.50, G.v. der Leeuw, REM, p.220.

The second layer is the air and by covering it with soil the air is filled with birds. The third layer is the sky and by covering it with soil, the sky is filled with stars. The fourth layer is the sacrifice and filling it with soil, the sacrifice is filled with dakṣiṇās. The fifth layer is the sacrificer and covering it with soil, the sacrificer becomes filled with progeny (or subjects). The sixth layer is the heavenly world and by covering it with soil, the heavenly world becomes filled with Gods. The seventh layer is immortality. This is the last layer. Then immortality is bestowed as the highest bliss of all this universe. Therefore, immortality is the highest thing of all this universe. Therefore Gods are not separated therefrom and therefore they are immortal (ŚB VIII.7.4.12ff). Here the various layers of the fire building are supposed to be the representatives of the various worlds² and whatever is done in connection with the layers will then necessarily be done in connection with the worlds. The fire altar is elsewhere conceived as symbolizing the earth. The earth is of the measure of the vedi. By means

2 For the fire-building (agnicayana) as the representative of the world cf. Eliade, Sacred and Profane, p. 30f. Gonda, Religionen Indiens, I, p.194.

of the first parigrāha in connection with the vedi the enemy of the sacrificer is removed from the vedi, i.e., from the earth and the second parigrāha is done for oneself (TB III.2.9.12). The water^s for sprinkling on the altar which is prepared for the Darsapūrṇamasa sacrifice should be as much as possible. For Asita Devala said, "There were as much waters on the world as much there are the sprinkling waters". (TB III.9.2.15). This means that the proportion of waters in the world depends upon the proportion of waters used in this rite of sprinkling. So one should use a large amount of waters so that there will be plenty of waters in the world. The graha which is called Droṇakalāśa is equal to the nation and the stones used for soma-pressing are equal to the subjects. If the Droṇakalāśa becomes unfirm, then the nation also becomes unfirm; then the subjects also become unfirm; then the sacrificer also becomes unfirm. Consequently the progeny also becomes unfirm (JB I.80).

Worldy practices explained on the ritual basis :

Sometimes the facts observed in the worldly life are explained on the basis of ritualistic basis. The sāman united itself with three ṛcs and, therefore, the sāman is chanted with three ṛcs. This ritual particularity is used to explain the worldly practice, viz., one husband has many wives but not one woman at once many husbands (AB III.23).

The s̄aman is understood here as the husband and the ṛc as the wife. The wives of the Gods are celebrated after Agni, the lord of the house. Therefore, it is added, that the wife sits behind the Gārhapatya. The comparative superiority of the wife to the sister is explained further. According to some R̄aka is to be celebrated first. They argue that a sister has the first drink. But this view is rejected and the view that the wives of the Gods should be celebrated first is put forth. The reason is that by means of this seed becomes placed in the wives with Agni. Then on the basis of this ritual peculiarity it is said that a sister though of the same womb has to live as inferior to a wife, though of a different womb (AB III.31). Here the superiority of the wife to the sister which is observed in the worldly experiences is explained on the ritual basis viz. the wives of the Gods (and not R̄aka) are celebrated first.

Some facts about the teeth, hair and seed are explained on the basis of the sacrificial actions. Inasmuch as the for-offerings are without invitatory formulas, therefore creatures are born without teeth; and inasmuch as the chief oblations have invitatory formulas, therefore the teeth grow in them and inasmuch as the afterofferings are without invitatory formulas, therefore the teeth decay in them. Inasmuch as the patn̄isamyājas have invitatory formulas, therefore

the teeth decay in them. Inasmuch as the pathīsaṁyājas have invitational formulas, therefore, the teeth come permanently to remain with them; and inasmuch as the samīṣṭayajus is without invitational formulas, therefore, they all decay in last stage of life. Inasmuch as uttering the invitational formula he offers with the offering formula, therefore the lower teeth grow first then the upper ones. Inasmuch as after uttering a Gāyatri verse as invitational formula, he offers with a Tritṣṭubh verse, therefore, the lower teeth are smaller and the upper ones are broader. Inasmuch as he pours out the two libations of ghee in a forward direction, therefore, the incisors are larger. Inasmuch as the two saṁyājas are in the same metre, therefore, the molars are of equal size. Inasmuch as a cover of sacrificial grass is spread on the vedi, therefore, creatures are born with hair. Inasmuch as the second time, therefore, the hair of the beard and the arm-pits and other parts of the body grow. Inasmuch as the prastara-bunch is thrown into the fire after the oblations, therefore, the hair of the head become grey first. Inasmuch as after the prastara-bunch all the sacrificial grass on the altar ground is thrown into the fire, therefore, in the last stage of life, one becomes grey all over. Inasmuch as the fore offerings have ghee for their offering material, a boy's seed is not productive, but is like water, for ghee is like water. Inasmuch as in the middle of the sacrifice they sacrifice with sour curds and with cake, therefore, it is productive in the middle stage of life. For thick flowing is this offering material and

thickflowing is seed. Inasmuch as the after offerings have ghee for their offering material, the seed is not productive in the last stage of life and is like water, for ghee is like water. (ŚB XI.4.1.12-13 cp GB V.3.7-9).

While baking the sacrificial cake, water is sprinkled upon it. Thereby skin is created upon the cake. There is skin upon the flesh in the body of an animal. The skin is created on the cake and therefore there is skin upon the flesh. (TB III.2.8.4). Further the cake is covered by means of ashes. Therefore, it is added, bone is covered with the flesh. Again it is to be covered by means of the grass-bunch (veda). Because it is covered with grass-bunch therefore the head is covered with hair (TB III.2.8.7-8). Milk is poured into the fire-pan (ukhā). The fire-pan (ukhā) is female. Then it is said that because milk is poured into the fire-pan, there is milk in the female (ŚB VI.5.4.15). Thus we find that the worldly observations are explained on the basis of the ritual particularities.

Sacrificial rites based upon the worldly observations :

We saw above how some worldly observations are considered in the Brāhmaṇa-texts as being based on the ritual practices. On the other hand, we also see that some ritual practices have their origin in the worldly practices, observations etc. Thus

for example, fire is kindled, when soma, the King, comes. Just as in the world when a human king has come or another deserving person has come, an ox or a cow that miscarries is slain, so also for the king soma, they slay in that they kindle the fire. For Agni is the victim of the Gods (AB I. 15). Here the producing of the fire which symbolizes an animal is shown to be based upon the worldly practice of welcoming a king or a great man by means of killing a cow for him. TB I.3.1.5-6 we read that the performance of Punarādhya (reestablishment of the fires) is to be done in such a manner that the words uttered would not be heard by any one. The explanation of this rule is given as follows - The performance of Punarādhya is like searching something which is lost. The search is done in such a manner that no voice would be heard. The Punarādhya is also to be performed in the same way. But the formula regarding the Svīṣṭakṛt offering in that rite is, however, to be pronounced loudly. It is similar to the expression "This one" which one would utter loudly after one has found the lost thing. Here the ritual peculiarities are based on the practical experiences.

Similarly we are told at ŚB XII.2.2.8 that one has to plough only the body of the altar site. The wings and tail of the altar site are not to be ploughed. This is supported by the general observation viz. the food which is put into the body benefits the body as well as the wings and tail,

but that which is put into the wings and tail does not benefit either the body or the wings and tail. ŚB VII.2.2.17 we are told that there are sixteen furrows in all. Prajāpati consists of sixteen parts. Prajāpati is equal to Agni. One thus puts food proportionate to the body, satisfies and does not become harmful; but that which is too much creates harm and that which is too little does not satisfy. Therefore proportionate food is satisfying as well as harmless to the body. This worldly experience is used in order to explain the number sixteen of the furrows which is like putting food. The mortar and pestle are put down in the Fire-building-ceremony and this is supposed to be like putting food as it were. They are put at the distance of a cubit. This distance of one cubit is based upon the practical observation. In the usual practice of eating food, it is taken from a distance of one cubit and then eaten. (ŚB VII.5.1.13). On this basis the distance of one cubit in the ritual context is explained. At another place it is asked "why there is a milkmess at the morning pressing ?" and why there is no milkmess at the midday and third pressings ? " In the answer given to this query, reference has been made to the worldly observation. The sacrifice is born at the time of the morning pressing. Milk is the portion of a young boy. Therefore there is a milkmess in the morning. When one grows one is past the breast then; the sacrifice is also grown up at the time of midday

and third pressing. Therefore there is no milkness at those pressings (KB XIII.2).

Both the above processes mixtured :

We illustrated above the two processes between microcosm and macrocosm. According to the first the worldly facts are based upon the ritual facts. According to the second the ritual facts are based upon the worldly facts. But there is no hard and fast line between these two. The relations between these two worlds are so close and complex that we cannot strictly differentiate and say what affects another. ŚB IV.1.2.25-26 we read that the sacrifice is spread like a bird. Here the sacrificial procedure is supposed to be based upon some worldly thing. Then it is further said that the Upāṁśu and Antaryāma grahas are its (of the sacrifice = bird) wings and the upāṁśu - savana - stone is its body. They repose without being moved until the evening soma-feast. "The sacrifice is spread along, but what is spread along moves, whence those birds fly spreading their wings, not drawing them in. At the evening soma-feast they are again used; whence these birds fly drawing in their wings to fold them. This indeed is after the manner of the sacrifice." Here the particularities observed in the worldly affairs. viz. in the case of the birds, is said to be based upon the ritual details. But the sacrifice itself is said first to be an imitation of the bird. Thus we see here how the microcosm

and macrocosm are interdependent according to the Brāhmaṇa-texts.

Cosmic sacrifice :

The microcosm and macrocosm not only effect upon each other, but they are also intermingled. The Brāhmaṇa-texts going a step further understand the whole macrocosm as a microcosm. Thus the world itself is sacrifice. Whatever happens in the world is sacrifice. The fire offers itself in the rising sun; yonder sun when setting offers itself in the fire at evening. The night also offers itself in day; the day in night; the expiration offers itself in the inspiration; the inspiration in expiration. These six sacrifice themselves into each other (KB II.8). The heaven is supposed to be identical with juhū; the sky with upabṛ̥ṣṭ and the earth with dhruvā. Thus the three worlds are identical with the three ladles. The washing of these ladles is supposed to be the same as rain (Tb.III.3.1.1-2). The world is supposed to be consecrated for this, mystic cosmic sacrifice. Thus we get the following description. The Earth is the dīkṣā (consecration). By means of it, Agni is consecrated. The Antarikṣa is the dīkṣā. By it Vāy^u is consecrated. The Heaven (Dya^u) is the dīkṣā. By it Āditya is consecrated. The directions (Dīśa^ḥ) are the dīkṣā. By them the Moon is consecrated. The waters are the dīkṣā. By them Varuṇa is consecrated. The Herbs are the dīkṣā. By them

the King Soma is consecrated. The Speech (Vāc) is the dīkṣā. By it the Prāṇa is consecrated (TB III.7.7.4-7). Thus we see how the three worlds along with the waters, herbs etc. are consecrated. At the time of consecrating the sacrifices the adhvaryā prays that the Earth, Antariskṣa etc. should be consecrated following the sacrificer (TB III.7.7.7 ff, cp. JB II.53). In the prayer made by the consecrated we find that the Sun is said to be consecrated. The sacrificer says that he is consecrated in the manner of the Sun (JB. II.52; cp. III.359). Thus the Sun seems to be the dīkṣita (consecrated) par excellence. Thus there is a cosmic sacrifice continuously going on and all the things are consecrated for this sacrifice among which the Sun is the chief.

Conclusion :

We illustrated the relations between the microcosm (sacrifice) and the macrocosm (the actual world) in the following way.

1. The microcosm affects the macrocosm.
2. The macrocosm affects the microcosm.
3. Sometimes these two are intermingled.
4. The Brāhmaṇa-texts maintain that there is a cosmic sacrifice always going on and the world itself is a big sacrifice. This leads up to understand that the macrocosm itself is a big microcosm. Thus we see how ritualism slowly tends into philosophical speculations in a remote manner and gives birth to spiritualism.

HENORITUALISM OF THE BRĀHMAṆA-TEXTSIntroduction :

Some indologists have understood and occasionally described some of the characteristics of the ancient Indian life and thought in a very effective manner. Max Müller's¹ theory of Henotheism or Kathenotheism can be mentioned as an example in this connection.² He has said that in the hymns of the RV we find 'a successive belief in single supreme gods'.³ Even though his theory was not accepted by some of the later scholars⁴ in its full extent, no other plausible explanation has been offered for the examples given

- 1 The theory of henotheism was developed by Max Müller under the influence of the famous philosopher Schelling cf. J. Hastings ERE VII.810 b.
- 2 Cf. Heiman Betty "Kathenotheism and Dānastutis or Kathenotheism and Iṣṭadevatās" ABORI, 28(1949) (p.26 ff) p.32 says, 'Max Müller's term Kathenotheism is the outcome of his vision of the most characteristic basic trends of the vedic, classical and even post-classical indian religions'.
- 3 Max Müller, Lectures on the origin and growth of religion p.271 and further etc. A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p.532.
- 4 For the criticism on henotheism see Olaenberg, Religion des Veda, p.101; Bloomfield Religion of the Veda, p.199; Keith, RPV, p.89.

by Max Müller and such similar ones. I, however, feel that there is not only henotheism and not only in the RV,⁵ There is a general 'henoism' in Indian thinking and not only any deity is considered to be supreme successively, but anything which is the subject matter at particular moment becomes the omnipotent, the highest, the only one identical with all etc., for the time being. Henoritualism of the Brāhmaṇa-texts is only a part of that henoism. It is well known that the Brāhmaṇa-texts treat each and every detail in the ritual with the utmost care and importance. Thus winternitz says, "Every single sacrificial act is treated with the greatest circumstantiality. Enormous importance is attached to the most trivial circumstances, to the least details. Whether an action is to be performed to the left or to the right, whether a pot is to be put in this or that spot on the place of sacrifice, whether a blade of grass is to be laid down with the points to the north or to the north-east, whether the priest steps in front of the fire or behind it, in which direction he must have his face turned, into how many parts the sacrificial cake is to be divided, whether the ghee is to be poured into the northern or the southern half or into the centre of the fire, at which instant the

5 For the henotheism in the post-vedic literature and particularly in the epics, See Gonda Religion in Indians, I. p. 232.

repetition of a certain spell or the singing of a certain song has to take place, these are (questions upon which) generations of masters of the art of sacrifice have meditated, and which are treated in the most searching manner in the Brāhmaṇas."⁶ In the careful descriptions and explanations of the ritual in the Brāhmaṇa-texts a particular henoritualistic tendency is seen. Thus the rite or the ritual detail which is in the context, is the only existing one in the view point of the Brāhmaṇas. They say that Gods obtained heaven by means of it; Prajapati created beings by means of it; it is identical with all the worlds, it is identical with all the sacrifices, it is identical with 'all'. But while describing and praising a rite in this way the Brāhmaṇa-texts forget that they have described another rite also in the same way. This tendency of successive glorification for the time being (with the highest kind of words) of a rite in the hand is named here as 'henoritualism' and in the following lines various aspects of henoritualism along with a few examples are mentioned.

Gods went to the heaven (svarga) :

In the henoritualistic praising of any sacrifice or any ritual detail the Brāhmaṇa-texts often mention that the

6 winternitz, HIL p.272

Gods went to the heaven by means of that particular sacrifice or the ritual detail. Now MS I.6.13 clearly says that Gods along with every thing have ascended upto the heaven only once (sakṛd) (sakṛd vāva devāḥ sarveṇa sākāṃ svargam lokam samāruksan). But still at different times different rites are said to be used by Gods for obtaining the world of heaven. It will be clearly seen how the Brāhmaṇa-texts remain oblivious of other rites for the time being and consider the rite in the context to be the only one in existence. Thus even though according to the Brāhmaṇa-texts the Gods have gone to the heaven once for all, they must have obtained the heaven by means of not one but several rites which are said to have helped them to obtain it. It is the henoritualistic tendency of the Brāhmaṇa-texts which makes them ascribe the attainment of heaven by Gods wholly and completely to only one particular rite in one particular context, making not even the slightest mention of the other means thereof (which in fact even had been similarly raised up each its own context).

JB III.68 and 300~~0~~ we are told that by means of the Dvādasāha sacrifice the Gods went to the heaven. JB II.110, however, we read that the gods went to the heaven by means of the Atirātra-sacrifice. About some ritualistic details also it is said that by means of them the Gods went to the heaven. Thus, for example, the Nākasad-bricks (TS V.3.7.1,

KPKS 111.17), the Upasad-offerings (KPKS 11.5) the Prāyanīya-day (JB.II.377), the sacrificial post (yūpa) (KPKS 11.2), the meters (TS V.2.3.4; KPKS 11.5), the Prayājas (ŚB. XI 2.7.26), etc.. In connection with many sāmans also obtainment of svarga by means of them is mentioned. Thus, JB III. 67 we read the Gods were desirous of the heaven and they having practised penance saw the sāman named Vairājasāman and obtained the heaven. (JB III.67). The same thing is told about sāmans like Śyena-sāman (JB III.158), Dīrgha-sāman (JB.III.162), Plavasāman (JB III.195) etc. The Abhī^varta-sāman (TMB IV 3.2), Parāka-sāman (TMB 11V 8.2), the Brhat-sāman are also said to have been helpful to Gods in obtaining the heaven. JB.III.253 makes a very interesting statement - The Gods when they went to the heaven by means of the Trirātra sacrifice, went to it by means of this (Sāmkṛti) sāman. Here the Brāhmaṇa forgetting the same statements in connection with other rites assume that the Gods went to the heaven by means of the Triātra-sacrifice and then again by means of the Sāmkṛti-sāman. Thus the Brāhmaṇa-texts show a henoritualistic tendency.

Removal of the Asuras :

Different rites are connected with the removal of the asuras at different places. It is said there that the asuras were removed by means of those individual rites. Now, the removing of evil beings like Asuras who were antagonistic to

the Gods and to their sacrifice was very important for the sake of safe and correct performance of the sacrifice. In order to get the desired result of the sacrifice correct performance of it was required and the removal of the Asuras was an essential factor in the correct performance of the sacrifice. Therefore in praising any rite or any ritual detail it is often said that by means of that rite or ritual detail Asuras were removed. In connecting any rite or the ritual detail with the removal of the Asuras, the Brāhmaṇa-texts show themselves to be perfectly oblivious of the fact that the same thing has been told in connection with some other rites.

Thus when the Gods and the Asuras were trying to win these worlds the Gods are said to have removed the Asuras from these worlds by means of the sixth day in the Dvādaśāha sacrifice (Ab V.II). According to TMB XVI.2.2 the Gods removed the Asuras by means of an ekāha named Go (gavā vai devā asurānebhya lokebhya'nudanta). But the same sentence is repeated in connection with another sacrifice named Goṣṭoma which is an atirātra and Gods are said to have removed the Asuras by means of it (TMB XX.6.1). MS.I.10.5 we are told that Prajāpati removed Asuras by means of the Cāturmāsya-sacrifices; but TB II.2.4.6 we read that Prajāpati removed the Asuras from these worlds by means of the Triṇava stoma. Ritual details such as anunirvāpyā (KB II.2) Prayājas(TS II.6.1.3)

etc. are also said to have helped the Gods in removing away the Asuras.

Connection with Creation :

In praising henoritualistically a rite or a ritual detail the Brāhmaṇa-texts connect it with the creation of all the beings. Thus, for example, Prajāpati is said to have created, all the being by means of the Vaiśvadeva-parvan in the Cāturmāsya-sacrifice (ŚB II.5.2.1; V.2.4.1.kB V.3; TB I. 6.8.1). But elsewhere it has been said that Prajāpati created the beings by means of the whole of the Cāturmāsya-sacrifice (MS I.10.1). Similarly in connection with the other sacrifices also it is said that Prajāpati created the beings by means of those sacrifices. Thus at different places Prajāpati is said to have created the beings by means of Agniṣṭoma (TS VII. 1.1.2; JB I.67), Apūrva-sacrifice (JB.II.174), Viśvājīta sacrifice (JB II.184) Prājāpatya-sacrifice (JB II.288), Viśvasrjāmayana-sacrifice (TMB AAV.18.2), Prajāpatheḥ Saptarātra-sacrifice (TMB AAI.5.3), fourth Pāñcadaśarātra-sacrifice (TMB AAIII.9.2) etc. Sometimes some ritual details are connected with the creation. Thus Prajāpati is said to have created the beings by means of the stomabhāgas (APKS AAAI.17, TS V.3.5.5), Trivṛt-stoma (MS.III.6.7 KPS AAAVI.1), Āmaṇīyava-sāman (TMB VI.5.1), Viṣṇukramas (ŚB VI 7.4.1;7) etc. Sometimes some ritual details are praised by saying that Prajāpati took the forms of those ritual details (or like that) and created the beings etc. In the Agnicayana ceremony a

tortoise (kūrma) is to be laid down as a brick. To this it is added that Prajāpati created the beings having become a tortoise (ŚB VII 5.1.5). Having become Śaddhotā, Prajāpati created all this (TB II.3.2.3). In praising the Āśvasāman it is said that Prajāpati has created all the beings by means of the Āśvasāman having himself become a horse (asva) (JB III. 11). Thus these ritual details are connected with the creation.

Some ritual details are connected with the creation but Prajāpati does not appear there as the creator. Thus TB III.12.9.4 praising henoritualistically the sahasrasamvatsara-sattra says that Viśvasrj Gods created all this universe by means of this sacrifice. While praising the Pāñcaviṃśastoma it is said that Manu created the beings by means of it (MS III. 10.3). While prescribing that water is to be sprinkled upon the animal which is to be offered in the soma-sacrifice, MS III.10.1 says that from waters the beings are born (adbhyo vai prajāḥ prajāyante). Following the śukra and manthin soma cups the beings - both the eaters and the eaten are born (TB VI.40.10.4). KPS 41IV.1, however, says that when the Āgrayana-vessel is used all the beings are born following it. According to ŚB IV.3.1.22 and 25 one who has taken the Ātugrahas has created all this.

TMB VI.9.15 gives the details of the creation done by Prajāpati by means of the Pratipad with the words ete asrgram etc.

By means of the word ete Prajāpati created the Gods. By (the word) asṛgram he created men; by (the word) indavaḥ he created the fathers, by the words tirah pavitram he created the soma cups, by the word āsavaḥ he created the stotra, by the word visvāni he created the śastra, and by (the words) abhi saubhagena he created other beings (cp. TMB AII.1.3; JB I.94).

Thus it will be seen how the Brāhmaṇa-texts in order to praise any ritual detail connect it with the creation. In doing this for one ritual detail they consider that thing only. They seem to forget for the time being that such connection with the creation has been maintained by them elsewhere with some other things also.

Identification with the worlds :

In the henoritualistic way of the description of a rite or a ritual detail the Brāhmaṇa-texts sometimes identify it with the worlds or the world. Thus JB III.320 says that the Dvādaśaha is identical with these worlds. Earlier JB II.284 has identified the Trirātra sacrifice with these worlds. ŚB AIII.6.1.7 identifies the Puruṣamedha with these worlds. Some ritual details are also identified with these worlds. Thus the firepan (ukhā) is said to be identical with these worlds (ŚB VI.5.2.17 VI.6.2.1; VII.5.1.27;2.1). ŚB VI.5.3.3 says further that while one makes the firepan one makes these worlds.

The fire which is being built up is also identified with these worlds (ŚB VI.7.1.16; VII.3.1.13). Similarly the sruca (TB III.3.1.2), the Pravargya (ŚB XIV.3.2.23); the meters (JB I.132); the Gāyatrāpārśvasāman (JB III.214); the Ājyadohasamans (TMB XXI.2.7), the Svarasāmans (AB IV.19) etc. are identified with these worlds.

The barhis is identified with this world (ŚB I.9.2.29). Similarly the built up Agni is identified with this world (ŚB X.5.4.1). The svayamātrṇṇā brick is identified with these (three) worlds (ŚB VII.4.2.8) and this (earth) (ŚB VII.4.2.1). The aśādhā brick is also said to be identical with this (earth) (ŚB VII.4.2.3.2).

It will thus be seen how the Brāhmaṇa-texts show awareness of the contextual thing only and they identify it with all the worlds or this world etc. They, the time being appear to be totally unconscious of the fact that they are identifying at different places different things with the three worlds and considering the thing in the hand as the only one existing.

Identification with vajra (thunderbolt) :

In henoritualistic praises of some ritual details the Brāhmaṇa-texts often identify those details with the vajra which represents vigour (cf. vīryam vajrah ŚB I.3.5.7; cp. VII. 5.2.24 etc.) and is the instrument by means of which the active

fighter or energetic champion of the welfare of man-kind, the weather-god rouses, generates or makes accessible the powers and substances which mean food and life.⁷ It also removes the evil spirits. So identifying something with vajra is a very effective way of praising it. When the Brāhmaṇa-texts praise anything by identifying it with the vajra they totally forget for the time being that they have identified some other things also with the vajra. Thus, for example, the Ṣoḍaśi-sāman has been identified with the vajra (e.g. TMB AII.13.14). But at the same place the Śakvarī-verses are also identified with the vajra. Elsewhere the Pañcadaśa-stoma is also said to be identical with the vajra (TMB II.4.2). Similarly the himkara (KB III.2; JB I.315), the vaṣaṭkāra (AB III.8, KB III.5, ŚB I.3.3.14 etc.) clarified butter (ājya) (ŚB III.5.4.2, VI.3.1.39), the sacrificial post (AB II.1.3; KB A.I.etc) etc. are also identified with the vajra.

Identification with 'this one who shines (ya eṣa tapati)' :

The Brāhmaṇa-texts identify at different times different rites henoritualistically with 'This one who shines (ya eṣa tapati) i.e. the sun! Thus ŚB A.6.5.8 we read 'this verily is the Aśvamedha who this shines'. Similarly about the Agniṣṭoma we read 'That this Agniṣṭoma is verily who this shines'

7 J. Gonda Viṣṇuism, p.52.

(JB I.314; cp. AB III.44; GB II.4.10). The same remark is found in the case of the Dvādaśāha sacrifice (JB III.373;386) and the Vājapeya sacrifice (GB.II.5.8) also. Not only the sacrifices but ritual details like vaṣaṭkāra (ŚB AI.2.2.5); the svāhākāra (ŚB AIV 1.3.26); the sacrificer (JB I.62) are also said to be identical with the 'one who shines and each time the Brāhmaṇa-texts forget that other things are also described in the same manner.

Identical with the year (Samvatsara) :

The Brāhmaṇa-texts henoritualistically identify the rite in their hands with the year. Thus the Agniṣṭoma has been identified with the year (Samvatsara) (MS III.8.10; IV.5.7; KS AAVI.1. JB II.304). Similarly the Cāturmāsya-sacrifices (MS.1.10.7); the Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice (ŚB AII.8.2.31;36); the fire which has been built up (ŚB VI.7.1.18), the Śaḍaha (KB AIA.10), the Sarvastoma (JB II.279), the Pravargya (ŚB AIV 3.2.22) etc. are identified with the year. While identifying one rite with the year the Brāhmaṇa-texts do not take into consideration that they have identified many other rites also with the year. The Brāhmaṇa-texts are busy with the rite in their hands only. They care of it only and for the time being only. This is henoritualism.

Identification with Prāṇa :

The Brāhmaṇa-texts in order to praise any ritual detail

identify it with Prāṇas - the vital airs; breaths etc. They thereby imply that as the Prāṇas are important for life of a man similarly that particular detail is also of very much importance for the sacrifice which is also considered as a man. At different times different things are said to be identical with Prāṇas. While identifying something with Prāṇas the Brāhmaṇa-texts totally forget that they have identified some other things also with the Prāṇas. Thus JB II.255 says that in the Trirātra sacrifice everyday there are ājidohas. The Brāhmaṇa-text further tells that the ājidohas are identical with the Prāṇas. Therefore one who uses them becomes firmly established in Prāṇas. While telling the importance of the kūrmeṣṭakā in the Agnicayana ceremony, ŚB VII.5.1.7 describes that the kūrma (tortoise) is identical with Prāṇa. The Prāṇa makes all these beings; therefore when the kūrmeṣṭaka is put, Prāṇa is put in the fire which is being built. But elsewhere the bricks named Svayamātrṇṇā (ŚB VII.4.2.8), Aṣādhā (ŚB VII.4.2.36), the Prāṇabhṛt-bricks (ŚB VII.1.1.1) the Viśvajyotis-brick (ŚB VIII 3.2.4 etc.), the Vāḷakhilya-bricks (ŚB VII.3.4.1) are also identified with Prāṇas and similar remarks are made there. The seventh layer is also identified with the Prāṇas by ŚB VIII.7.4.21 while ŚB IX.2.1.17 identifies the whole built up fire with Prāṇas. Thus the henoritualism is obvious here.

Elsewhere other things are also identified with the Prāṇas. Thus the ninth day in the Dvādaśaha (TS VII.2.8.4), the Vāmadeva sāmān (JB III.301), the Gārhapatya-fire (JB.I.61), the vaṣaṭkāra (ŚB IV.2.1.19) the Prayājas (ŚB AI 2.7.21) etc. While JB III.301 has identified the Vāmadevya-sāmān with Prāṇas, ŚB Ia.1.2.32 identifies all the sāmāns in general with the Prāṇas. JB I.111 says : Prajāpati created the beings. He created them without Prāṇas. By means of this (Gāyatra) Sāmān he put prāṇa (breath) in them. Thus the Gāyatra-sāmān is also connected with the Prāṇas. According to JB II.136 and ŚB VIII.4.1.3 the stones are identical with the Prāṇas. Thus whatever rite or ritual detail is in hand that is the supreme to the Brāhmaṇa-texts and they praise it with the same kind in which they have praised the other rite or ritual detail.

Identification with Prajāpati :

The Brāhmaṇa-texts at different places identify different rites or ritual details with Prajāpati. While identifying a rite or a ritual detail with Prajāpati they forget that elsewhere they have identified another rite or another ritual detail with Prajāpati. Thus, for example, JB I.139 and II.15 we find that the Vāmadevya-sāmān is identified with Prajāpati. But elsewhere Rathantara (JB I.231) and Vairāja (TMB AVI.5.17) sāmāns are also said to be identical with Prajāpati. Similarly

the Aśvamedha is identified with Prajāpati by ŚB ΔIII.2.2.13; 4.1.15 but elsewhere when it is a matter of praising the Dronakalāśa it is also said to be identical with Prajāpati (ŚB IV.3.1.6). Elsewhere other sacrifices like Dvādasāha (AB IV.25, JB III.372;376), Āgrayana (TS VI.4.5.11, 5.7.1; 8.1. KPS ΔLIII.9). ^{are identified with Prajāpati} Though the Dvādasāha sacrifice is said to be identical with Prajāpati, when it is a matter of the tenth day of that sacrifice this tenth day is also described as being identical with Prajāpati (JB II.4.29; III.308). Elsewhere the Prātaranuvāka (JB II.37) and Himkāra (TMB VI. 8.5) are also identified with Prajāpati. Thus the Brāhmaṇa-texts while identifying a rite with Prajāpati forget that they have elsewhere identified another rite with Prajāpati. They while describing a particular thing think that that rite alone is existing and try to give it the highest position by identifying it with Prajāpati whose importance is very high in the view of the Brāhmaṇa-texts.

Limbs of the sacrifice-man :

The sacrifice is often conceived either directly or indirectly as a man. Various ritual details are metaphorically described as the limbs of that sacrifice-man. It is, however, interesting to see the henoritualism here also. Thus the Brāhmaṇa-texts as usual forget for the time being all the other rites and their descriptions. Many ritual details are

described in the same manner. Many things are said to be the head of the sacrifice e.g. the Prātarunuvāka (AB II.21), sacrificial cake (prōdāsa) (MS.IV.1.9), fire-pan (ukhā) (ŚB VI.5.3.8), Ātithya (ŚB III.2.3.20, KPKS XXVIII.1), Pravargya (ŚB III.4.4.1), havirdhāna (ŚB III.5.3.2) etc. Many things are said to be the eye or the eyes of the sacrifice e.g. uktha as the eye (TS VI.5.1.4); ājyabhāgas (ŚB.I.6.3.2; MS I.7.4; KPKS VIII.5) the Śukrāmanthins etc. as the eyes (TS VI.4.10.3) the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice (KB I.1.8 MS IV.4.10), Soma-pressing stones (MS IV.6.1), the Āghidhra priest (MS IV.8.3); the Bahispavamāna (AB.II.22), the juhū (MS III.1.1) etc. are described as the ^{mn}mouth of the sacrifice. It may be seen how the Brāhmaṇa-texts identify different things at different times with the same thing forgetting the others and this is henoritualism.

The Sacrifice :

The Brāhmaṇa-texts sometimes henoritualistically describe a particular sacrifice as the sacrifice. Thus TMB VI.3.1f we read 'This verily is the sacrifice namely the Agniṣṭoma. For any other sacrifice is performed for obtaining one desire only and the Agniṣṭoma for all.' Now here Agniṣṭoma is said to be the sacrifice for by means it all the desires are obtained and no other sacrifice can be able to fulfill all the desires according to TMB VI.3.1f. But this cannot be taken too literally. For in the cases of other sacrifices also the results of

fulfilling all the desires are told e.g. Dvādaśāha (TMB A. 5.14), Cāturmāsya-sacrifices (GB II.1.26) Vājapeya (ŚB V.1.1.8) etc. This will show how the Brāhmaṇa-texts in their henoritualistic descriptions forget the other rites for the time being. The Vājapeya sacrifice is also described as the sacrifice. Thus TB I.3.2.5 describes the Vājapeya as the sacrifice. There we are told that Prajāpati gave all the sacrifices to the Gods but reserved the Vājapeya for himself. Then the Gods said 'Vājapeya is the sacrifice'. Here it is interesting to note that a similar story of Prajāpati and Gods (about Aśvamedha) describes Aśvamedha as the sacrifice. (TB.III.8.14.1; cp. ŚB AIII.2.1.1). In connection with the Ājyabhāgas also similar story is told. Thus Prajāpati gave all the sacrifices to the Gods but reserved the Ājyabhāga for himself. Then the Gods said; "This is the sacrifice namely the ājya" (TS.II.6.3.1) It will be clear now how, for the time being, the Brāhmaṇa-texts, consider a sacrifice or a ritual detail as the sacrifice, forgetting other rites. This is what can be called henoritualism.

The sacrifice is this much :

In praising any rite or ritual detail the Brāhmaṇa-texts henoritualistically say that the sacrifice is this much only. Thus we often read 'The sacrifice, verily, is as much as the Agniṣṭoma (etāvān vai (JB vāva) yojño yavāgniṣṭomah).

TS VI.4.10.1; KS XXII.1 XXVIII.1; KPS XIV.1; JB I.179; TĀ V.6.3). ŚB VIII.1.2.10 remarks about the Prāṇabhṛd-iṣṭakās that all the sacrifice is this much. But the same ŚB elsewhere makes the same remark about the Nākasadiṣṭakās (ŚB VIII.6.1.10). MS IV.6.5 we are told that the sacrifice is as much as the ukthyagraha; but KS XXVII.7 says that the sacrifice is as much as the Śukra and Manthin grahas. While praising henoritualistically the three vedas ŚB VII.5.3.8 says 'The sacrifice is as much as this three-fold knowledge'; cp. ŚB V.5.5.10) TS.I.7.5.2 remarks that the sacrifice is as much as the portion of the sacrificer (yajamānabhāga) TB I.8.7.2 says that the sacrifice is as much as the (three) Pavamānas (viz. Bahiṣpavamāna, Mādhyandinapavamāna and Ārbhavapavamāna). Thus, it will be seen how at different places different sacrifices and different ritual details are said to be equal to the sacrifice without remembering the existence of others at each time.

A part is identical with the whole :

The henoritualistic tendency of the Brāhmaṇa-texts is also seen when we find that some particular ritual detail is identified with the whole sacrifice. Thus for the time being that part is shown to be identical with the whole. Thus, for example, the black antelope's skin (kṛṣṇājinaṃ) is often identified with the sacrifice. In the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice

the sacrificer is consecrated on a black antelope's skin. Then it is said that such a skin is identical with the sacrifice and the sacrificer then becomes consecrated in the whole ^s sacrifice (ŚB ΔII.8.3.3). For the black antelope's skin and the sacrifice identification see also ŚB III.2.1.8;28; VI.4.1.6; 7.1.6; IX 3.4.10 etc.) But elsewhere other things are also identified with the sacrifice and the Brāhmaṇa-texts forget in each case any other ritual detail being identical with the sacrifice according to their own statements elsewhere. Thus ŚB III.9.3.3 the carriage (anas) is identified with the sacrifice. Tb III.9.8.2-3 we are told that in the process of the Aśvamedha a cow is to be seized. Then the cow is there said to be identical with the sacrifice and it is added that by seizing the cow one seizes the sacrifice. ŚB II.2.4.13 also identifies the cow with the sacrifice and adds the reasoning that no sacrifice is performed without a cow. Many times waters are said to be identical with the sacrifice. Thus when in the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifices, waters are said to be laid down Tb III.2.4.1 says that waters are identical with the sacrifice and when one leads waters one has led the sacrifice. For the identification of the waters and the sacrifice see also AB II.20; KB ΔII.10; ŚB I.1.1.2 etc. Similarly many other ritual details are also identified with the sacrifice e.g. the ājya (ŚB ΔII.8.1.18;19; TB III.8.4.1;) the animals (ŚB III.1.4.14; 2.3.11); the prastara (ŚB III.4.3.19)

the somagrahas (ŚB IA 3.2.10); the oblation (āhuti) (ŚB III. 1.4.1; VII.5.2.23), the svāhākāra (ŚB III.1.4.27; IA 2.3.44); the Hotṛ priest (ŚB AIV.3.1.34) etc.

The part and whole identification is also seen elsewhere. Thus the Mahadukṭha is said to be identical all the ṛc verses (ŚB A.1.1.5). The Mahāvratā-sāman is identical with all the Sāmans (ŚB A.1.1.5). Kṛad^{XXI} identifies the Anuṣṭubh metre with all the metres while the Aticchandas metre is identical with all the metres according to ŚB III.3.2.11; IV.4.5.7; V 4.3.22 TS.V.3.8.3 etc. AB I.6 however, maintains that by using the Virāṭ metre one possesses the power of all the metres., obtains the association and similarity of all the metres. It is interesting to note thus that at each place when any particular thing is in the context that becomes identical with the sacrifice and a part for the time being is supposed to be identical with the whole. In doing this the Brāhmaṇa-texts forget for the time being all the other ritual details and forget that they are elsewhere said to be identical with the sacrifice or with the whole class and give their attention only to the contextual thing.

No sacrifice without it :

In describing the importance of any particular ritual details the Brāhmaṇa-texts point out that without it there is no sacrifice. So that thing for the time being they describe

to be of the highest importance and of the essential nature for the sacrifice itself. Thus it is not a sacrifice where there is no sāman (ayaṣṇo vā eṣa yo'sāmā) (TB II.1.5.6). It is not a sacrifice where there are no (deva) patnī (mantra)s (ayaṣṇo vā eṣa vo'patnīkaḥ) (TB II.2.2.6). It is not a sacrifice where there is no sacrificer's wife (ayaṣṇo vā eṣa yo'patnīkaḥ) (TB III.3.3.1). "It is not a sacrifice which is devoid of Agni (ayaṣṇo vā eṣa vo'hagnih)" (KB VII.7) It is not a sacrifice where no stoma is used (ayaṣṇo vā eṣa yatra stomā na yujyate) (MS I.5.5.). Thus it will be seen that for the different times being the sāman, the devapatnī-mantras, the sacrificer's wife etc. are considered to be of so much importance that without them there is no sacrifice. At the time of making this statement in one case the Brāhmaṇa-texts forget that they have made similar statements in connection with the other rites also. Similarly MS I.10.17 says that the sacrifice is sacrifice not because of the dhānās nor because of the mantha; it is sacrifice because of the sacrificial cake (puroḍāśa). MS III.6.4 quotes the opinion of Aruṇa Anpaveśi according to whom "what will he sacrifice with the sacrifice, he who does not know the materials (sambhāras) of the sacrifice?" KB XVI.5 says that the sacrifice is extended (performed) by means of the ghee and soma. Here also the brāhmaṇa-texts in order to maintain the importance of the sacrificial cake, the materials (sambhāras) or the ghee and soma try to make them the essence of the

sacrifice forgetting for the time being that there are also other essential things.

All the sacrifices :

In the henoritualistic descriptions the Brāhmaṇa-texts often describe a sacrificial rite as representing all the sacrifices. Thus MS I.8.6 we are told that in the Agnihotra all the sacrifices are included. The sacrificer having the knowledge (mentioned by ṣaḍB) of Agnihotra (IV.1.1ff. and 2.1) performs the Agnihotra has sacrificed with all the sacrificial rites according to ṣaḍB IV.1.16 and 2.1. JB I.4 and 38 ff we are told that the Agnihotra includes other sacrifices. . Similarly the Agniṣṭoma (AB III.39-41 cp. II.49; JB. I.49; II.177); the Rājasūya (ŚB V.3.6.9; 10.4.5.14; 5.5.11); the Traidhātavī offering in the Rājasūya (TS II.4.11.2ff ^{include all the 5 vikṛs.} cp. KS XII.4). The Agnicacyana, (ŚB A.1.5 1 ff), the sacrifice named Kuṇḍapāyinām ayanam (TMB AAV.4.3) are said to be representing all the sacrifices. The Vājapeya (TB. I.3.4 if KS AIV.9) and the Samvatsarasattra (ŚB XII.3.5.3 ff) are also said to be including in themselves many other sacrifices. The Brāhmaṇa-texts try to show whatever sacrifice is in their hand at a time to be the only greatest one. They give all the attributes possible to it and forget others. But at different times different sacrifices become prominent. This is due to the henoritualistic tendency.

Supremacy etc.:

The Brāhmaṇa-texts describe the rite in their hand to be the supreme, the highest etc. for the time being. Thus the Sarvamedha is said to be the supreme (parama) among all the sacrifices (Śb AIII.7.1.2). But elsewhere Trirātra-sacrifice is said to be the supreme (parama)(TS V.4.12.1) and the highest (varṣiṣṭhah) (JB II.284). The second Sāhasra sacrifice is also said to be supreme (TMB XVI.9.2). Sarvajyotis sacrifice is also according to TMB XVI.4.2 the supreme (parama) sacrifice. TS VII.4.10.1 and KS AAAIII.2 quote the opinion of the Brahmvādins according to whom the Atirātra is the supreme sacrifice. Uvādaśāha is said to be the best sacrifice (śreṣṭhayaṣṇā) of all the sacrifices (AB IV.26). Agniṣṭoma is also said to be the chief sacrifice (jyeṣṭhayaṣṇā)(TMB VI.3.8.10; cp. JB I.67; II.378).

TB I.3.6.8 says that the nīvāras form the supreme(parama) food of the Gods, but elsewhere it says that that stoma is the supreme (parama) food of the Gods. At different places different stomas are said to be supreme. Thus according to TMB III.3.2 the Trayastrimśastoma is the supreme of all the stomas, while according to KB AI.6 Ekaviṁśa Catuṣṭoma is the supreme (see also KB IV.5; XVI.7). According to AB IV.19 Catuṣṭrimśa is the top-most (uttamah). The Trivṛt-stoma is also said to be both the lowest (avama) and the supreme(parama)

(JB.I.248; TS.VII.1.3.3). Thus the Brāhmaṇa-texts try to describe the rite in their hand as supreme while forgetting that they have described other rites to be supreme for other times being. This is henoritualism.

All the desires are fulfilled :

From the view point of the henoritualism connection of a rite with the obtainment of all the desires is very important. There are various sacrifices and they are performed for obtaining various results. Still in order to praise henoritualistically the rite in the context ^{the} of Brāhmaṇa-texts connect it with the obtainment of all the desires. Now if there is any sacrifice which can fulfill all the desires why there are other sacrifices ? And if any sacrifice ^{alone} ~~only~~ can help to get all the desired objects how some other sacrifices are also described in the ^{me} ~~say~~ way ? This can be explained on the basis of the henoritualism. The Brāhmaṇa-texts for the time being consider the rite in the hands as the omnipotent one. But at another time they consider another rite as the omnipotent one. Thus for example in connection with the Agniṣṭoma the TMB VI.3.2 says that any other sacrifice is performed for only one desire; but the Agniṣṭoma is performed for all the desires. This is not true. The Brāhmaṇa-texts maintain that there is 'plurality' of results. Thus one rite can give many results. So there are sacrifices which can give results more than one. Similarly there are sacrifices other than the

Agniṣṭoma which can give all the desired results according to the Brāhmaṇa-texts themselves. So the description of the Agniṣṭoma here is obviously henoritualistic. Let us see some examples of the sacrifices which are connected with all the desires. Thus for example the Dvādaśāha with transposed meters (TMB X.5.14); the long sacrificial session of one year or more (ŚB IV.5.1.12); Aśvamedha (e.g. TS.V.4.12.3); Viśajit Sarvaprṣṭha sacrifice (TS.VII.1.10.4); Second Sāhasra sacrifice (TMB XVI.9.4); Sarvajit sacrifice (TMB XVI.7.2); Puruṣamedha (ŚB XIII.6.2.10) etc. are said to be able to give all. Some ritual details also can give all. Thus the Okonidhana Vaitahavya saman (JB.I.214); Āpālasaman (JB I.221); Aurnāyavasaman (JB.III.76); Jarābodhīyasaman (JB.I.97) and many other samans are connected with the obtainment of all the desires. The Prātaruvāka is to be recited without any measure. That is for obtaining all the desires. (AB II.19).

Identical with 'all' (Sarva) :

While praising a rite the Brāhmaṇa-texts henoritualistically identify that rite with 'all'. As usual, the Brāhmaṇa-texts forget the other rites while identifying one rite with 'all'. Thus the Puruṣamedha (e.g. ŚB XIII.6.1.3); the Agnihotra (ŚB XIV 3.2.26); Cāturmāsya-sacrifices (ŚB XIV.3.2.28 etc.) the Pravārgya (ŚB XIV.3.2.22 ff); the Upāmsūgraha (ŚB IV.1.1.5); Āgrayanagraha (ŚB IV.2.2.1 ff); Amsūgraha (ŚB IV.6.3.15) etc. are identified with 'all'.

Shower of Praises :

The Brāhmaṇa-texts wax eloquent while praising a rite in their hand and at that time they make a shower of praises. Thus in connection with the Āśvamedha we read "Verily this is the sacrifice called strengthful (prabhu),...Plentiful (vibhu)... obtainment (vyastī),... distinction (vidhṛtī),... reverence (vyāvṛttī),... food-obtaining (ūrjasvān),... milkful(payasvān),.. abounding in brahman-splendour (brahmavarcaśī),... excelling in hunting (ativyādhi),... long one (dīrgha),... adaptness (klptī),... firm foundation (pratiṣṭhā)" (ŚB ΔIII.3.7.1 ff; TB III.9.19.1 ff). Similarly TS II.5.6.2 ff we get an eulogy of the Darsapūrṇamāsa sacrifices. The new and full moon sacrifices are the chariot of the Gods ... are the limbs and joints of the year ... are the eyes of the year .. are the striding of the Gods ... are path on which the Gods fare.. are the bay steeds of the Gods .. (TS II.5.6.2 ff).

Concluding observations :

From the above given examples it will be clearly seen how the Brāhmaṇa-texts are henoritualistic in their attitude. Each contextual rite becomes the only existing rite for the time being according to the Brāhmaṇa-texts. These texts give the same kinds of high praises to each rite successively and while praising one rite they seem to forget all the rest. Some of the devices to which we may draw special attention are

following :- connection of a rite with the creation of the beings etc., considering a part as identical with the whole sacrifice or considering a sacrifice identical with all the sacrifices, connecting a rite with the fulfilment of all the desires, identifying with 'all' etc. It may be added that the henoritualism of the Brāhmaṇa-texts is worth noticing for it is an important link between the 'ritualism' and the 'spiritualism' of the Brāhmaṇa-texts. Thus it is often told above that by means of the henoritualistic way of praising of a sacrifice or a sacrificial rite the brāhmaṇa-texts want to show that that sacrifice or the sacrificial rite is of importance or is inevitable in the performance. This is ritualism. But this henoritualism also assures that even one rite is sufficient to give you everything. So if you are not able to do something it does not matter. Thus there is no rigidity; no stress on mere "letter" but on "spirit".

Secondly the henoritualism which as I think is only a part of the general henoism is closely connected with the latent monism which is seen more prominently in Upaniṣads and other literature. In the Ṛgveda I.164.46 we have already got the line ekam sad viprā bahudhā vadanti (the truth which is one, the wise persons describe it variously). Thus the monistic ideas are present in the Ṛgveda. In the ŚB 4.5.2.20 we get a similar monistic thought which is connected with the ritual and is also of the henoritualistic nature. Thus

in describing the fire altar (which is built up) in an
 essoteric (adhyatma) way and understanding it a divine being
 ŚB 4.5.2.20 says 'That same (divine being) the adhvaryus
 serve under the name of 'Agni' (fire altar) and 'yajus' because
 he holds together (yuj) all this (universe). The chandogas
 (Sāmaveda-priests) under that of 'Sāman' because in him all
 this (universe) is one and the same (Samāna) the bahvṛcas
 (the Ṛgveda-priests) under that of 'Uktham' because he
 originates (utthāp) everything here; those skilled in sorcery
 under that of 'yātu (sorcery)' because everything here is
 held in check (yata) by him; the serpents under that of 'viṣa'
 (poison) the snake-charmers under that of 'sarpa(snake)';
 the Gods under that of 'urg (strengthening food)'; men under
 that of rayi (wealth) the Asuras under that of māyā (magic
 power); the fathers under that of svadhā; those knowing the
 divine host under that of 'devajana (divine host)'; the
 Gandharvas under that of rūpa (form) the Apsaras under that
 of 'Gandha (fragrance)' - thus in whatsoever form they serve
 him that indeed he becomes and having become that he is
 helpful to them. A very much similar idea is found in a
 verse of Hanūmannāṭaka I.3; where Viṣṇu is described to be
 worshipped under different names and forms by different
 thinkers. Thus the worshippers of Śiva worship him as Śiva;
 the vedāntins as the brahma; the buudhists as the buddha,
 the naiyāyikas as kartā, the jainas as the Arhat and the
 mīmāṃsakas as Karma. Similar ideas can be found in Ganeshmimnaḥ

stotra verse 2; Śivamahimnaḥ stotra verse 7 etc. Thus the henoritualism and the henoism in general are closely connected with the monism and thus with the spiritualism.

Summarily we may say -

- 1 The Brāhmaṇa-texts reflect throughout a henoritualistic tendency in their dealing with the ritual.
- 2 The henoritualism is broadly speaking considering the rite in the hand as only the one existing and praising each rite successively in the same or similar ways.
- 3 The henoritualism is a part of general henoism observed in Indian literature and way of thinking and the both are closely connected with the monism. Thus the henoritualism is a link between the ritualism and spiritualism of the Brāhmaṇa-texts.

RITUALISM AND SPIRITUALISMIntroduction :

In the Brāhmaṇa-texts, we find that every minor detail is considered to be important.¹ In the ritual everything or every action has got its own magic significance and therefore it is essential that one has to take care for the correct performance of every detail. As we have seen while studying the Prāyaścitti, a mistake in the performance not only hinders the expected good result but itself creates some positively bad effect. So upon the correct performance of every detail does the woe or weal of the sacrificer depend. It will appear, at the first sight that the Brāhmaṇa-texts are too rigid in their ritualism and they want every detail to be fulfilled in the prescribed manner alone and this rigidity of the ritualism is inevitable for the obtaining of the desired result. Now, we shall see how far this first impression is correct and whether the Brāhmaṇa-texts give importance to the "letter" or to the "spirit" of the rules they have prescribed.

In the cases of difficulties -

The Brāhmaṇa-texts are not unaware of the fact that even though the sacrificer takes care as far as possible

1 Winternitz, GIL, I, p. 171 f.

there is likelihood of some cases of difficulties. The Brāhmaṇa-texts show some way to overcome these difficulties. Thus, if the soma is carried off by somebody, efforts are to be made for searching and reobtainment of it. But if it is not found, then an expiation is to be made by means of substituting the soma. Of the two kinds of phālguna-plants viz. the red flowering (lohitapuṣpāṇi) and the brown-flowering (arunapuṣpāṇi), the brown-flowering Phālguna plants are to be used; for they, the brown-flowering Phālgunas are akin to the soma-plants. If that plant is not available, the Śyenahr̥tā plant may be used. When Gāyatrī was bringing soma, a spring of soma fell from her and it became the Śyenahr̥tā plant. Therefore, it can be a substitute of the soma. If the Śyenahr̥tā is not obtained, Ādāra-plant is to be used; for when the head of the sacrifice was cut off, then the Ādāra plants sprung from the sap which spilted from it. Therefore, Ādāra-plant can be used. If the Ādāra-plant is not available the Dūrvās can be used for pressing. If they are also absent yellow kuśa (grass) can be used (ŚB IV. 5.10.1 ff; cp. with some differences TB I 4.7.5 f; JB I. 354; TMB IX 5.2.ff)² If anybody among those who are consecrated for the sacrificial session dies, then the dead body is to

2 For, if soma is carried away see Caland, Henry, L'Agnistoma, section 23.

be kept on the southern side of the fire-altar and the sarparājñī-verses are to be recited. The others fan upon that dead body and cover it. They take three rounds around the Mārjālīya. In the Bahispavamāna-stotra, they recite the verse "Agna āyūṁsi pavase" (TS I.4.29), recite the Rathantara-Sāman and thus they place "life" in themselves and remove the evil from themselves (TB I.4.6.5 ff). It is a rule that the priests who officiate at the time of Prāyañiyā should also officiate at the time of Udayaniyā (KB VII.5). But, if anyone of them dies in the meanwhile, others may officiate in stead (ŚB III.2.3.22). If the fire, when being kindled is not born, then another is to be brought. If, it is not obtained, then in a she-goat (i.e. in her ear) offerings are to be made. For the she-goat belongs to Agni and offerings are thus made into Agni itself. In the absence of a she-goat offering is to be made on the right hand of a Brāhmaṇa. For a Brāhmaṇa is Agnivaīśvānara. In the absence of a Brāhmaṇa, offering is to be made on the Darbhagrass. In the absence of darbhas, in the water (TB III.7.3.2; cp. ŚaḍB IV 1.12 where a he-goat, instead of a she-goat is mentioned). In the Āsvamedha sacrifice when horse is let loose, then, for the sake of protection of the horse, four hundred persons are provided; but still, if the horse is carried away by the enemies, another horse is to be sprinkled upon and used for the sacrifice (TB III 8.9.4). Thus, the apparently

rigid ritual shows elasticity in the cases of difficulties³ and prescribes substitutes. The substitute is identical with the thing⁴ for which it stands and it helps to get the desired result. Thus, the provision of substitute shows how the ritualism gives importance to the "spirit" and not to the "letter" of the rules in the ritual.

Possibility, availableness etc. considered :

The Brāhmaṇa-texts take into consideration possibility of availableness. The ritual demands the particular thing which is appropriate for the particular performance. The Brāhmaṇa-texts emphasize upon the appropriateness (samrddhi) of the things used and the ritual in general. But still they never forget that it is not always possible to possess exactly the same thing which is required and then they suggest some substitutes etc.

The rule that one who has been consecrated for the sacrifice should speak truth only must have appeared rather very difficult to follow. Thus some ask, "what man can speak all truth? The Gods are of truth-compact, the men of untruth-compact." Then, taking into consideration this human weakness

3 cf. v. Negelein, JAOS, 34, p. 261

4 Gonda, Religionen Indiens, I. p. 177

to speak truth alone, following concession is given. The consecrated sacrificer should speak every word accompanied by the word "vicakṣṇa". Then his speech becomes essentially true (AS I.6). The offering of omentum in the animal-sacrifice connected with the soma-sacrifice is to be offered in five layers. First a basis of ghee is made, then a piece of gold is put, then the omentum, then again piece of gold and then a layer of ghee - in this manner is the omentum to be offered. But if gold is not available then first two layers of ghee are to be made. For ghee is ambrosia and gold is also ambrosia and thus the desires in the ghee and the desires in the gold are obtained (AŚ II.14). Thus here ghee becomes the substitute of gold and the Brahmana-texts have taken into consideration the availableness of gold. Elsewhere also ghee can represent gold. Thus, for example, in the fire-building ceremony with the caturhotṛ formulas, bricks of gold are to be used. But if gold is not obtained, sands anointed with ghee are to be used (TB III.12.5.12).

A barren cow (vasā) also may sometimes be needed but may not be available. At the end of the Agniṣṭoma a barren cow is to be offered to Mitra and Varuṇa. But if such a cow is not available, then a bullock can be used (ŚB IV 5.1.9) Elsewhere, it is said that a spotted barren cow is very difficult to be obtained and if such a one is not available any barren cow can be offered (ŚB V 1.3.3).

A white horse is to be given as dakṣiṇā for the oblation to Sūrya in the Śunāsīrīya offering. The white horse represents the sun. But if such a horse is not available, then a white bull is to be given (ŚB II.6.3.9). In the fire building ceremony a white horse is to be led in the front while the āhavanīya is being laid. But in the absence of a white horse, a horse which is not white may be used and in the absence of any horse whatever even an ox may be used (ŚB VII.3.2.16).

Appropriate (samrddha) victims are said to be difficult to obtain in connection with the seventeen victims for Prājāpati in the Vājapeya. They should be, as a rule, hornless white-and-black-coloured (Śyāma) and uncastrated males. As all the victims with all these perfections are difficult to obtain, even some with these perfections will do (ŚB V.1.3.7-10.10- durveda evaṁ samrddhḥ paśavaḥ). Similarly the difficulty of obtaining the appropriate (samraddha) victims is recognised in the Sautrāmaṇi victims. Thus, there is a reddish-white he-goat for Aśvins, an ewe with teats in the dewlap for Sarasvatī and a bull for Indra Sutrāman. In the absence of such appropriate victims only goats can be used; but in that case the goat for Aśvins should be red one (ŚB V.5.4.1).

The appropriate mantras to be used, also can be substituted in their absence. Thus, for example for the offering of a barren cow for the Victorious (ujjeṣa) Maruts in the Vājaṭpeya, the invitatory and offering verses should be containing the word "victorious (ujjeṣa)". But if such verses are not available, then any verses to Maruts may be used (ŚB V.1.3.3).

Thus, we see how the Brāhmaṇa-texts suggest the substitutes and thus show how they give importance to the "spirit" and not the "letter" of the rules.

Spirit, not letter -

Let us see some examples where we find the emphasis on the spirit and not on the letter. After telling the various timings suitable for the establishment of fires in accordance with the castes and the desires of the sacrificer, it is told that one may establish fires at any time when one feels called upon to the sacrifice. Then, it is added that one should not put it off from one day to the morrow, For who knows the morrow of man ? (ŚB II, 1.3.9; TB I 1.2.8).

Yājñavalkya says that the priests constitute the place of the sacrifice and when there are wise and learned priests, no failure can take place there (ŚB III. 1.1.15). Elsewhere in connection with the same problem, it is said

that one may sacrifice at any place and if one possesses faith and sacrifices at any place, one prospers (ṢaḍB II 10.25- yasminneva kasmiṃśca śradadhāno yajata rddhnotyeva).

The words "spirit" and "letter" would at the first sight appear rather foreign to the Brāhmaṇa-texts. But the Brāhmaṇa-texts have their own expressions signifying the "spirit" and the "letter". Thus, the sacrifice is said to have two wheels viz. speech (vāc) and mind (manas) (AB V.33; JUB III.4.2.1; ṢaḍB I. 5.4.; GB I.3.2) and these two words would correspond to "letter" and "spirit" respectively.

Sometimes, it is said, "By means of vāc (speech) the sacrifice is spread" (vācā yajñas tāyate" KB VII.9; X.5; XVI.1) or "They verily spread all the sacrifice by means of Vāc (speech) (vācā vai sarvaṃ yajñam tanvate" TMB XIII.13.3) Thus here importance is given to vāc that is the "letter" part of ritual. But elsewhere importance is given to manas (mind) i.e. the "spirit" part of it. Thus AS III.11 says "By means of manas (mind) the sacrifice is spread, by means of mind, performed (manasā vai yajñas tāyate manasā kriyate). Thus in the Brāhmaṇa-texts themselves both the ritualism and spiritualism find their places and slowly and slowly the "spiritualism" is being recognised even in the "ritualism".

Efforts for making the performance easy -

The Brāhmaṇa-texts reflect how efforts are made to make performance easy. After the performance of Viśv^śjī^śt, the sacrificer has to behave in a restricted manner. For a year, he should wander ^laying on the ground accepting the uncultivated fruits only; not asking for food, clothed with what is given. Here Kauṣītaki gave his opinion "Having done this for twelve nights he may devote himself to another desire. For the year has twelve months and this period (of twelve nights) is an image of a year" (KB XXV.15; cf. JB II.181 and TMB XVI.6.1 ff) both these texts prescribe the restricted life of the sacrificer only for twelve days and are thus in agreement with Kauṣītaki). Thus in order to make the performance easy the long period of the restricted life has been shortened here. The dakṣiṇā for the Viśvajit sacrifice is "all (viśva)" that one possesses; but there is also an opinion mentioned according to which one may give thousand (cows) as dakṣiṇās; for a thousand means "all" (JB I. 191). Here also the tendency to make performance easy is seen.

Rigidity with concessions -

The cow by means of which soma is to be purchased, must be with some special characteristics. It should be a brown one with red-brown eyes. In the absence of a brown cow with red brown eyes, a dark-red cow can be used; in the

absence of a dark-red cow a ruddy cow may be used. But in any case the cow being ruddy and having reddish white eyes should not be used (ŚB III 3.1.15). Thus, though some concession is given, a definite rule is also mentioned. Similar is the case of the spade (abhri) to be used at the time of fire building ceremony. It should be spotted. For such a one is of Agni's nature. But if such a one cannot be obtained, then even an unspotted one can be used, but it must be hollow (susirā), nevertheless (ŚB VI.3.1.32). Thus, here also we find some rigidity with concessions.

One's discretion is allowed :

A kind of non-rigidity can be seen when instead of prescribing some definite rule, one is advised to use one's own discretion. The adhvaryu gives the directions to the āgnīdhra priest in the following manner - "Put the sprinkling water down to the altar; put fuel and barhis beside it wipe the ladles; gird the sacrificer's wife, come hither with the clarified butter." But then it is added that the adhvaryu may or may not pronounce these directions. Thus, it is the adhvaryu who has to choose what is to be done. The reason why there is no harm if these directions are not uttered is that the āgnīdhra himself knows what work is to be done at that particular time (ŚB I.2.5.21). Various options are given about ~~an~~ what distance āhavanīya is to be laid down from

Gārhapatya. One option is of eight steps. For, of eight syllables consists the Gāyatrī. Another option is of eleven steps; for there are eleven syllables in the metre Triṣṭubh and the sacrificer ascends to the heaven by means of Triṣṭubh. The next option is of twelve steps. Jagatī metre has twelve syllables and thereby the sacrificer goes to the heaven by means of Jagatī. But then, it is added that there is no fixed measure as regards this and therefore one may lay down the āhavanīya where one think it proper (ŚB I.7.3.23 ff). At the end of the establishing of the fires, the sacrificer goes round to the east side of the fire and taking hold of the top part of the burning sticks he mutters "dyauriva bṛūmā .." (VS III.5). But then it is added that one may mutter this prayer or not according to one's own discretion (ŚB II 1.4.28).

The Brāhmaṇa-texts attach great importance to the discretion. Thus for example, after telling the various directions to which one may go for the expiatory bath (Avabhr̥tha) it is said that one may go to any direction where there is abundant water. Then a remark is added in which importance of one's discretion is glorified. "When anybody who knows this (is better) than that, "performs a rite, he becomes better by this rite" (Śaṅgī III.1.31- yad vai vidvān karma karotyasmācidam iti vasiyāneva tena bhavati).

Symbolic performance :

In order to understand how there is elasticity in the generally rigid ritual we may also take into consideration how sometimes the actual performance is not done; but only symbolical performance is done. In the Darśapūrṇamāsa there is no actual use of sāman-singing; but by the sacred syllable om the sacrifice symbolically becomes endowed with sāman (ŚB I.4.1.1). There arises a doubt as regards how clod-bricks come to be put on as baked, as heated ones (which they are not). The answer is that the clods are vital sap and the vital sap is naturally heated. Again, whatever comes into contact with Agni Vaiśvānara, even thereby comes to be put on as baked and as heated (ŚB VII.3.1.26). There are the Lokāṃṛṇās in the case of other layers. But for the fifth layer there are no Lokāṃṛṇās. The question, then, is "Which is then the Lokāṃṛṇā?" The answer is that this sun is the Lokāṃṛṇā (ŚB VIII.5.4.8). Thus symbolically the Lokāṃṛṇā brick is present in the fifth layer also. The symbolical manner of performing the Darśapūrṇamāsa is that ghee is offered in the mind; for the mind is the full moon. Similarly, one makes an offering to Speech. Speech is the new moon. Thus full-moon (Pūrṇamasa) and new moon (Darśa) sacrifices are symbolically offered (ŚB XI 2.4.8). He who enters on a Brahmacārin's life, enters on a long sacrificial session. The log he puts on the fire in entering into the Brahmacārin's life is the opening (offering) and that which (he puts on the fire) when he is about to

bathe is the concluding (offering) and what logs there are between these are just his (logs) of the sacrificial session (ŚB XI.3.3.2). Thus the Brahmācārī symbolically performs even the sacrificial session. Symbolically even the usual breathing is also identical with the performance of the Agnihotra and therefore as one breaths one offers the Agnihotra (JB I.20). Mere recitation of various sāmāns is said to be bringing the results of the performance of the various sacrifices. One should recite the three sāmāns based on agnā āyāhi vītaye for nine times each and then one obtains the Agnyādheya. In the same manner reciting the sāmān based on Indrāya pavate madah one obtains the pavamānahaviṃśi. The Darśapūrṇamāsas are obtained by means of the sāmānsinging based on suvarmahāḥ suvarmayāḥ. The Cāturmāsya-sacrifices are obtained by means of taṁ indraṁ vājayāmasi. By means of asya praīṣa one obtains the Pāśuka-sacrifices. By means of trātāraṁ indraṁ yajāmahe one obtains the Paśubandha. Subsisting on milk and using sāmāns based Brhad indrāya gāyata one obtains both the Sautrāmaṇīs (the Sautrāmaṇī normal and the Sautrāmaṇī named kokila)(SVB I.3.2.ff). Thus by means of mere recitation of the sāmāns various sacrifices are symbolically performed.

Mistakes said to be fruitful -

For the obtainment of desired result, the correct

mode of performance is to be adopted. As we have seen elsewhere the mistakes not only creat hindrance in the desired result, but also creat positive harm. Now, though, the mistakes are therefore to be avoided, the Brāhmaṇa-texts are aware of the general experience that to err is human. They have, therefore, prescribed expiations (prāyaścittis) for atoning the mistakes. But sometimes they go still further and maintain that even the mistakes can give good result. Thus ŚB IV.5.7.9 quotes the opinion of Āruṇi - "Why should he sacrifice who would think himself the worse for the inappropriatness (mistake etc.) in the sacrifice ? I, for one, am better for the inappropriatness of the sacrifice." The mistakes in the performance are described as the doors to the Brahman. He who offers with slightly burnt sacrificial food, enters through the fire-door of the Brahman and then he is united with the Brahman. He who offers with the sacrificial food fallen on the ground enters through the wind-door of the Brahman and unites with it. He who offers with the uncooked sacrificial food enters through the water-door of the Brahman and unites with it. He who offers with slightly browned sacrificial food enters through the moon-door of the Brahman and unites with it. He who offers with browned sacrificial food enters through the lightning door of the Brahman and unites with it. He who offers with well-cooked sacrificial food, enters through the sun-door of the Brahman and unites

with it (ŚB X 4.4.1 ff). Except the last case, here, all the other cases are of the "mistakes" - nature. But still they are described here as giving good result. Generally, there should not be anything incomplete or too much or anything wavering in the sacrifice. But even if such things happen they are told to be giving good result. Thus, whatever part of the sacrifice is incomplete, that part is productive. Whatever is too much, that is favourable to cattle. Again whatever is uncertain or wavering (saṅkasuka) in it that makes for prosperity. Whatever is correct or perfect in the sacrifice that is conducive to the heaven (ŚB XI.4.4.8; see 9 ff also) KB XI.8 says somewhat differently but with the same intention that there are three desires (kāmas) in the sacrifice - that in its completion, that in its deficiency and that in its redundancy. The complete part gives heaven, the incomplete gives food, and the redundant gives generation. Thus even mistakes are said to be producing good result and this shows how the Brāhmaṇa-texts see the "spirit" and not the "letter" in the ritual.

Principle of Śraddhā -

The sacrifice is not a magical machine which produces result by itself if performed properly. There is the principle of Śraddhā involved. The importance of śraddhā is stated expressly by Keśī Dālbhya in the following words, "The imperishableness of what has been offered once is śraddhā (faith).

He who sacrifices with faith, his sacrifice perishes not (śraddhaiva sakṛdistasyāksitiḥ sa yaḥ śraddhāno yajate tasyeṣṭam na kṣīyate)" (KB VII.4). The śraddhā is thus the faith in the efficiency of the ritual acts.⁵ Thus Lévi has rightly remarked "La confiance est nécessaire à ce point que sans elle le sacrifice est stérile au moins pour le sacrifiant"⁶ The importance of śraddhā is told differently in the Brāhmaṇa-texts. Thus, a question is asked about the way of performance of the Agnihotra in the absence of the wife. The answer is that the wife is the faith (Śraddhā) and the sacrificer is the truth (satya). Faith and truth are the highest pair. By faith and truth as a pair the sacrificer conquers the world of heaven (AB VII.10). Here the importance of faith and truth is told and it is implied that they are at the foundation of the sacrifice. Some questions and answers took place between Janaka and Yājñavalkya. Janaka asked, "If there is no milk how the

5 cf. Lévi La doctrine du sacrifice, p. 108 ff; Hubert, Mauss, "Sacrifice", L'Année Sociologique, Vol 2, 1897-1898, p. 61; Silburn, Instant et cause, p. 59; 90: Gonda Religionen Indiens I, p. 43.

6 Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice, p. 113.

Agnihotra is to be performed ?" Yājñavalkya told, "With rice and barley." Janaka asked about the performance even when rice and barley were not available. Then Yājñavalkya told that the other herbs were to be used in that case. The questions and answers went on further and from them we know that in the absence of other herbs, forest herbs are to be used; in their absence fruits of trees are to be used; and in their absence water is to be used. Janaka still goes further and asks the way of performance in the absence of even water. The answer of Yājñavalkya, then, is "Then there is nothing whatsoever here and yet truth is to be offered in faith" (ŚB XI 3.1.1 ff; cp. JB I.19). Similarly AB V.27 says that if all the milk for the Agnihotra be poured out then he should call another cow and milk her and offer with it, but there must be an offering, even if only in faith. ŚB XII.1.2.1 and GB I.4.7 we are told that the Gods have created the dīkṣā from the faith (Śraddhā). GB I.4.8 we are told further that one who performs the dīkṣā offering becomes associated with śraddhā. Elsewhere also the dīkṣā is connected with śraddhā. "The truth is the form of the fast observance (vrata) and faith is that of dīkṣā (ŚB XII.8.2.4) Śraddhā along with satya, śrama, tapas, yajña and āhuti can give the same result of the sacrificial session which the old performers obtained having performed it with the three great rites (on the caturviṃśa-day, on viṣuvat-day and the mahāvratā-day itself)

(Ś XII.1.3.23). Vātsapri bhāradvāja is told to have practised penance for the sake of obtaining śraddhā. He, after practising penance saw the vātsapri sāman and then obtained śraddhā. (T.B. XII.11.25). JB I.41 describes how at different stages of the Agnihotra the Sandharvāpsarasas, the Grahas and Itars, the vital airs, the Gods, the birds, the seers and the serpents warn the sacrificer "Let not your faith depart from you (śraddhā te nā viṣāt)" (JB I.41). In his preaching, Aśvameśa told his sons, "Do not depart from the sacrifice" (JB II 419). He further explained what he meant by these words, "Let not the faith (śraddhā) go away from you... The faith, verily, is the queen of the Gods, (śraddhā sma vo nā vyasid eṣā na vai devānāṃ rājñī yac chraddhā. JB II 426). Thus one must have faith. Those who do not have śraddhā they have to lose. Thus JB II.17 tells us a story - "The cows being desirous of obtaining hoofs and horns, held (once) a sacrificial session. In the tenth month (of their sacrifice) they obtained hoofs and horns. They said, 'We have obtained fulfillment of that wish for which we underwent the consecration into the sacrificial rites. Let us rise' when they arose they had horns. Those who, however, thought to finish the year and on account of lack of śraddhā they became hornless (tūpara) (cp. T.B. IV 1.1-2; JB II. 3/4). Thus aśraddhā leads to some loss; and therefore one should possess śraddhā.

Importance of knowledge -

The attitude of understanding, explaining or knowing the significances of the ritual details is seen everywhere in the Brāhmaṇa-texts. Kauṣītaki used to say regarding the tenth day of the Dvādaśāha - "The tenth day is that which is above in the sky; there-fore it is not to be explained; for no one knows it clearly. 'Let me not explain ignorantly' (he thinks). The tenth day is a limited divine rite; it is the anuṣṭubh; he who explains it makes a surplus; stumbling is liable to befall him who explains." "As to this they say; Let him explain; the sacrifice rejoices at the approach of a wise man, 'what is to become successful in me that will he cause to be successful' (nandati ha vai yajño viduṣāgacchataṁ yan me samṛddham bhaviṣyati ayaṁ me tat samardhaḥ iṣyati KB XXVII.1) Thus here the importance of the explanation given by a wise man is praised and said to be rejoicing to the sacrifice. So the ritual requires proper understanding, knowledge and power of explaining. Accordingly ŚB IX.4.2.27 allows any additional offering (in the course of Agnicayana, after the Santati-homa) provided that it has any explanation, reasoning etc. (Brāhmaṇa) for it. ŚB IX 2.3.27 calls the performers of the sacrifice "well-knowing" ones (suvidvāṁsaḥ) Though the Pravargya-ceremony is not to be performed by one who has not already performed a soma-sacrifice, a concession has been given to a wise and learned sacrificer. He can

perform the Pravargya even in his first soma-sacrifice also. For he is the body of the sacrifice (KB VIII.3; GB II 2.6; cp ŚB XIV 2.2.49 ff). The power of knowledge is so much that for one who knows that the fire altars are, in truth, knowledge-built, all the beings at all times build the altars for him even whilst he is asleep (ŚB X.5.3.12). Śauceya Prācīnayogya speaks to Uddālaka Āruṇi, " if thou hast offered the Agnihotra knowing this (e.g. why the spoon is shaken after the offering etc.) then it has indeed been offered by thee; but if (thou hast offered it) not knowing this, then it has not been offered by thee." (ŚB XI.5.3.4).

The importance of knowledge was recognised so much that there must have been some persons like Bhāradvāja whose interests were devoted to the study of the veda alone. Thus, Bhāradvāja was a student of the veda for the period of three lives. When he was very much old and lying down, Indra came and asked, " If I were to give you the fourth life what would you do ?" Bhāradvāja said, " I shall remain student only during that life." Indra showed him the three vedas in the form of three mountains and took a handful of each mountain and said, " Those are the Vedas. The Vedas are endless; and what you have learnt is only these three handfuls and the remaining is not learnt at all by you. Come here, know this. This is the all knowledge," and then Indra taught the

Sāvitra-fire building to Bhṛadvāja and Bhāradvāja by knowing that, became immortal and went to the heaven (TB III.10.11.3-5). The enthusiasm to learn on the part of Bhāradvāja is noteworthy. But all he was learning was the "letter" and it was Indra who gave him the "spirit" in the form of the mystical knowledge of Sāvitra-fire-building. Thus the progress from ritualism to spiritualism is seen here. ŚB X.5.4.16 gives us the importance of Vidyā (knowledge) and tells us that mere ritualism will not lead us to the highest position. "By knowledge they ascend that (state) where desires have vanished; dakṣiṇās do not go thither; nor the fervid practisers of rites without knowledge". The upaniṣadic thoughts in later times have their germs in such thoughts in the Brāhmaṇa-texts and in the efforts "to know" which are found in the Brāhmaṇa-texts in connection of the ritual theory. Thus the ritualism itself is giving place to the spiritualism.

Philosophical thoughts -

The Brāhmaṇa-texts are mainly interested in the ritual and whatever other topics there are in the Brāhmaṇa-texts they also are originated in the circle of ritual. But the Brāhmaṇa-texts are not interested in mere description of the ritual. They are interested in explaining it justifying it, establishing it. In their thinking of the ritual itself sometimes philosophical thoughts take place.

Thus the Brāhmaṇa-texts indulge themselves on the origin of the universe and we get some idea of their cosmology. Prajāpati desired "May I be more (than one) may I be reproduced." He toiled and practised austerity. He created the Brahman, the triple science (the three vedas). He created the waters out of Vāc (speech). He desired to be reproduced out of those waters. He entered the waters with that triple science. Thence an egg arose ... The embryo inside was created as the foremost and it was Agni. ... Prajāpati desired to creat earth from the water ... He again desired to be more and after practising penance he created clay, mud, saline soil and sand, gravel, rock, ore, gold, plants and trees ... (ŚB X 1.1.8 ff). Further it is told that Prajāpati again desired to multiply himself. By means of Agni he entered into the union with the earth. Thence an egg arose. The embryo which was inside was created as Vāyu. The tear which has formed itself became those birds. The juice which was adhering to the shell became those sun-motes and that which was the shell became the air. Prajāpati again desired to multiply himself. He entered into union with the air. Thence an egg arose. He touched it. From it the yonder Sun was created; and the tear which formed itself became that variegated pebble (aśman); the juice which was adhering to the shell became those sunbeams; that which was the shell became the sky. Prajāpati again thought to multiply

himself. By means of the Sun he entered into union with the sky; thence an egg arose. He touched it; from it the Moon was created; and the tear which formed itself became those stars; the juice which was adhering to the shell became those intermediate; that which was the shell became those chief quarters. Having created these worlds, he desired to creat the creatures. By his mind (manas) he entered into union with speech (vāc) and created Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas and the All gods and placed them in quarters (ŚB VI 1.2.1 ff).

Elsewhere, it is said that in the beginning there was neither sat (being) nor asat (nonbeing). There was only that mind. Wherefore it has been said by the Ṛṣi (R̥gveda X 129.1) 'There was neither the non-being nor the being.' For mind was, as it were, neither being nor non-being. This mind, when created wished to become manifest, more substantial. It sought after a self (body). It practised austerity. It then beheld thirty-six thousand Arka-fires of its own self, composed of mind, built up of mind ... That mind created speech. This speech when created wished to become manifest; it practised austerity ... That speech created the breath. This breath when created, wished to become manifest ... The breath created the eye. This eye when created wished to become manifest.. The eye created the ear. The ear when created wished to become manifest ... The ear created work

and this condensed itself into the vital airs, into this compound, this composition of food... This work when created wished to become manifest ... The work created fire... The fire when created wished to become manifest ... (ŚB X 5.3.1 ff). Such speculations occur in connection with the Āgnicāyana.

In the Upaniṣads the highest principle Brahman appears to have been prominent. But the Brāhmaṇa texts have also tried to give an exposition of the Brahman principle. Thus, it is told that in the beginning there was this Brahman only. It created the Gods and having created them, it made them ascend these worlds; Agni this (terrestrial) world, Vāyu the air, and Sūrya the sky. And the deities who are above these, it made ascend the worlds which are above these... Then the Brahman itself went up to the sphere beyond. Having gone upto the sphere beyond, it considered, 'How can I descend again into these worlds?' It then descended again by means of these two; Form and Name. Whatever has a name, that is name; and that which has no name and which one knows by its form, 'This is (of a certain) form,' that is form ; as far as there are Form and Name so far, indeed, extends this (universe). These indeed are the two great forces of the Brahman ... These indeeds are the two great manifestations (ŚB XI, 2.3.1 ff). Thus here the Brahman is said to be at the origin of everything. The Name and Form are said to be its manifestations.

This philosophical part comes in the ŚB in connection with the explanation of the Āghāras (libations of ghee).

In the Brāhmaṇa-texts some thoughts of monism came forward slowly and slowly. Thus even though different persons may describe differently, the reality is one and the same and does not change. "That same (divine person), the adhvaryus serve under the name Agni and Yajus because he holds together (yuj) all this universe. The Chandogas under that of (sāman); because in him all this (universe) is one and the same (samāna); the Bahvṛcas under that of 'uktham' because he originates (utthāpayati) everything here; those skilled in sorcery (yātu) under that of 'sorcery' (yātu) because everything here is held in check (yata) by him; the serpents under that of 'poison'; the snake-charmers under that of 'snake', the gods under that of 'ūrj', men under that of 'wealth', demons under that of 'māyā', the deceased fathers under that of svadhā; those knowing the divine host under that of 'divine host', the Gandharvas under that of 'form' (rūpa), the Apsarases under that of 'fragrance' (gandha) - thus in whatsoever form they serve him that indeed he becomes, and having become that he is helpful to them. (ŚB 1.5.2.20). This comes again, in connection with the Agnicayana. Further it is said that by means of the knowledge of this one gets immortality (ŚB 1.5.2.23). Thus the knowledge is said to be the cause of getting immortality. Thus we find that many philosophical speculations occur in connection with the ritual in the Brāhmaṇas.

Some modern scholars on the origin of Upaniṣadic philosophy:

Because the Brāhmaṇa-texts are full of ritual descriptions some modern scholars concluded that the Brāhmaṇa-period was the period of ritualism and the upaniṣadic philosophy was a kind of revolution made by the non-brahmanins - particularly by Kṣatriyas against the ritualism and the superiority of the Brāhmaṇas implied in it. Thus Deussen says "Namentlich scheint die geistige Revolution gegen den Brahmanischen Ceremonialkultus welche zu den Upanishaden führte, ursprünglich in Kshatriyaiskreisen entstanden und genährt worden zu sein"⁸ Similarly, it has been remarked that there is a great difference between the interests and views of the Brāhmaṇa-texts and of the Upaniṣad-texts. Thus, it is said by Masson-Oursel, "La notion d'upaniṣad, si différente de celle de brāhmaṇa, témoigne d'une chose tout autre que la technique rituelle, patrimoine de la caste sacerdotale. Il s'agit de révélations transmises en secret touchant la vérité métaphysique, non plus la ponctualité dans le culte ou l'exégèse védique."⁹

8 cf. Deussen, Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie, p. 166, cp. also Garbe, Beiträge zur indischen Kulturgeschichte, p. 1ff.

9 P. Masson-Oursel, La pensée en Orient, Paris, 1949, p. 134.

Now, it is important to note that the Brāhmaṇa-texts do not reflect all the cultural movements of the period in which they are produced. Their main theme is ritualism, no doubt. But that does not mean that in that period there was no philosophical thinkers among the Brāhmaṇas. We have everywhere seen that the ritualism of the Brāhmaṇas is accompanied with the spiritualism. There were free thinkers in the Brāhmaṇa-class also who could say that a particular sacrifice (e.g. ṣVājapeya) should not be performed at all or say that one can obtain the highest bliss only through knowledge and not through ritual (cf. ŚB X 5.4.16). It is also not theoretically correct to hold that the Brāhmaṇas were imposing their supermacy and they were not co-operating with the Kṣatriyas (see the chapter on R̥tviṣṭ). Even though some non-brahmanical personalities like Janaka etc. might have taken part in the Philosophical discussions they were not too far away from the general way of thinking of the Brāhmaṇas and the Brāhmaṇas also have taken part in the philosophical discussions and contributed to the philosophical thoughts in general, the roots of which can be traced back in the period of Ṛgveda or Atharvaveda also. Not every Brahmana was a priest or an adept in the art of sacrifices and among the Brāhmaṇas also some must have been exponents of new doctrines.¹⁰

The Brāhmaṇa-texts and the Upaniṣad-texts do not have their interests and views too different¹¹ as it would appear at first sight (see the quotation of Masson-Oursel). Most of the thoughts in connection with the Agnicayana (tenth kāṇḍa) those in connection with some other rites and in general mentioned in the eleventh kāṇḍa of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa are quite of the upaniṣadic nature. The name Jaiminiya-upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa itself includes both the words Upaniṣad and Brāhmaṇa and shows that there is no essential difference between these two. The Kenopaniṣad is included in (or extracted out of) the Jaiminiya-Upaniṣad-brāhmaṇa (IV-10.1.ff) The Brhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad (a name which includes both the words Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣad) is a part of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. Actually the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads are so closely connected with each other that it is very difficult to make a differentiating line between each other.¹²

Conclusions -

1. In the Brāhmaṇa-texts we find that the exponents of ritualism take into consideration both the "letter" as well as "spirit".
2. The Brāhmaṇa-texts show how slowly and slowly the "spirit" is becoming more important even in the ritualism.

This is the first sign of the upaniṣadic spiritualism.

3. There are philosophical thoughts which occur in the discussions of the ritual. Thus the later upaniṣadic philosophy is not a revolution against the ritualism but merely a further development of the thoughts already existing.

- 10 ~~Winternitz~~, HIL p. 202; for the philosophy of the Upaniṣads as not revolutionary to the Brāhmaṇa-texts see also Uddenberg, Lehre der Upnishaden, p. 166 ff; Oltramare L'histoire des Idées Théosophiques I.96 f. etc. ~~Renou~~, "Les relations du Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa avec la Brhādāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad..." IC, 14, 1947, p. 75 ff p. 89 particular.
- 11 See on the relations of the Brāhmaṇa-texts and the upaniṣads as closely connected, ~~Renou~~ "Le passage des Brāhmaṇa aux Upaniṣad" in JAOS, 73 (1953) p, 138 ff. cf. also Silburn, Instant et cause, p. 163.
- 12 cf. Keith, HPV. p. 49P. "As the distinction between Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas is not an absolute one, though the Āraṇyakas contain more advanced doctrines than the Brāhmaṇas, so also the distinction between Upaniṣad and Āraṇyakas is also not absolute.." see also p. 496-"the philosophy of the Brāhmaṇas seen in the Upaniṣads is essentially the development of the philosophy of the Brāhmaṇas. "

CHAPTER XIIRECAPITULATION

We have mentioned in the Introduction that the sacrifice was already developed to a considerable extent in the Ṛgveda. But the sacrifice had not as yet become a static phenomenon. It was a growing institution; and the Saṁhitās of the Yajurveda and of the Sāmaveda, which are more directly and purposefully meant for the sacrifice, show a further progress of the ritual. The saṁhitās of the black yajus school contain some portions which are not in any way different from the Brāhmaṇas. We, however, for the sake of convenience have limited ourselves to the Brāhmaṇa-texts and only occasionally have used the saṁhitā-texts and other texts which show some aspects of the ritual.

In the Brāhmaṇa-texts we find that ritualism is growing in two ways. In the already established ritual some details are newly coming, some are being changed, etc. Secondly many popular rites are being elevated and are being sanctioned and established in the higher ritual. The origin of the sacrifice has already gone beyond the sight and some mysterious stories which are likely to contain some grains of truth are being told in the Brāhmaṇas. From them we know that sacrifice was either seen or created by Prajāpati and was obtained as a heritage by the Gods who either collectively or individually

also contributed to its development one way or the other. They tried to keep it secret but the seers found it out themselves, developed it and then it was obtained by men among whom it continued from father to son. The sacrifice was never a static phenomenon and it has passed through many vicissitudes which are naturally reflected in the Brāhmaṇas. Sacrifice as an institution was not only growing but advancing even geographically. Many practices were removed, changed, modified, introduced, etc. Particularly in the animal-sacrifice we see that once man was the victim then horse etc. and ultimately a he-goat and Purodāśa became prominent as the material of the sacrifice, the last (-purodāśa) was an animal only symbolically. There were many thinkers, many ritualists holding their own views about the ritual details. They often discussed, put forth reasonings in their favour, and refuted the opinions of others. Sometimes the opinions of others were rejected, sometimes a compromise took place, and sometimes their opinions were accepted. This shows how free thinking was not absent in the so called dogmatic ritualism of the Brāhmaṇas.

While there were vicissitudes at different periods and differences of practices in different regions, there was simultaneously a tendency to adopt the popular ritual and elevate and establish it in the ritual of the "classes".

Such rites were highly praised, the objections against them raised by the "conservatives" were removed, and ultimately they were firmly established in the śrauta-ritualistic system. The Brāhmaṇa-texts, however, give some glimpses of the adoption and "elevation" (if we may be permitted the use of this term) of various rites e.g. the Cāturmāsyas, Vājapeya etc. Thus the sacrifice was a growing institution in the Brāhmaṇa-period and it was also getting intellectual standpoint.

The Brāhmaṇa-texts do not merely describe the sacrifice; they mean to explain every detail of it, of course, in their own ways. Their ways may not be from our point of view logical or consistent; but it is quite evident that they want to be logical, consistent, etc. in their own way. In order to see how the Brāhmaṇa-texts describe and explain the sacrifice, we instead of studying all the sacrifices, took into consideration the ancillary rites which are generally connected with all the sacrifices - with the soma-sacrifice in particular, which is of more importance and extent as far as the space it has filled in the Brāhmaṇa-texts is concerned. Even though we have not studied all the sacrifices in their details, we have seen how the Brāhmaṇa-texts classify the sacrifices in several ways (each classifications does not necessarily cover all the sacrifices) and how they generally explain the names of the sacrifices. In the study of the ancillary rites we came to the conclusion that the various significances of

various ancillary rites are connected with the general doctrine of the sacrifice - and the Agnicayana-rite is concerned with the philosophical speculations also.

The performers of the sacrifice are the sacrificer, his wife and the priests. They are expected to do various duties, and observe some vratas. The relations between the sacrificer and the priests are just like those between the body and the limbs. Full co-operation is, therefore, expected between the sacrificer and the priests. The priests are especially expected to be wise, of pure conduct, etc.

The sacrificer sacrifices obviously to get some result. The results of the desires are numerous, e.g., getting children, prosperity, heaven and immortality and further "to get all". The Brāhmaṇa-texts explain how a particular result can be obtained from a particular action. There is, however, no strict, fixed cause and effect relation; the Brāhmaṇa-texts obviously maintain "plurality of results", and "plurality of causes". The sacrifice has magical powers and works apparently like a machine; if you perform a sacrifice correctly and carefully the result is bound to follow. But this is not all. One has to possess śraddhā, faith in the working of the sacrifice. The Gods are not as may be supposed at first sight subsidiary to the sacrifice. They are not mere slaves of the sacrifice. It is theirs to give the result or to

withhold it. Moreover, the sacrifice is not, as it also may appear at first sight, an end in itself; it is a means to obtain the result; the means par excellence. But one may obtain the result by mere "knowledge" also. The attitude of the brāhmaṇa-texts in general may be described as being activistic, optimistic, and positive. And yet thoughts of renunciation are not totally wanting in the brāhmaṇas.

Now, how does the sacrifice work? What is the doctrine of the sacrifice? The sacrificial performance is described in various ways. Its principal nature consists of offering (āhuti) but it is metaphorically described as "collection", "homage", "journey", "killing and generating", "generation", etc. The sacrifice is described as a co-operative institute of Gods and men. Thus there is mutual giving and taking. There are many guiding principles for the performance of sacrifice and one has to be very careful in following them. The sacrifice is the "norm" par excellence and this "norm" is not to be disturbed in any way. One has to keep the "continuity (santati)" of the sacrifice, maintain its measurement and make it complete. The sacrifice is identified with many things. Some of these identifications show how in the sacrificial performance accuracy and vigilance are absolutely necessary. Thus the sacrifice is identical with the water-jar and one has to take care that there is no hole to the water-jar (i.e. there are no mistakes in the performance of the sacrifice).

Other identifications also throw similar light upon the working of the sacrifice ensuring ultimately how the sacrifice leads to the expected results. Thus the sacrifice is identified with a cart or a chariot or a ship that leads to the goal. The most important theory involved in the sacrifice is that it is a microcosm. The microcosm and macrocosm are inter-related. The actions done in the microcosm (on the sacrificial plane) are many times based on or imitations of the actions done in the macrocosm and the actions in the macrocosm are also, on the other hand supposed to be an effect of the actions in the microcosm. Thus both these microcosm and macrocosm are interdependent. § "... en faisant exister le ṛta dans leur sacrifice, les pretres le produisent en même temps ou le renforcent dans le monde".¹ This explains how the sacrifice can give good results to the performer.

In the explanations of the "ritualism" the germs of "spiritualism" are found in the Brāhmaṇa-texts. In order to maintain this point strongly we have in each chapter shown how side by side with the ritualism, spiritualism is present. Speaking of the ritualism and spiritualism in general separately, we have pointed out that even though the ritualism requires correct, careful performance, the Brāhmaṇa-texts are not

1 P. Mus, BFEQ, 33, 1934, p.385 ("Culter indiens et indigenes au champa" p.367ff.)

too rigid in their prescriptions and rules. The Brāhmaṇa-texts have never ignored the "spirit" of their rules etc. in preference of the "letter" of the rules. If anything required for the sacrifice is not available the Brāhmaṇa-texts prescribe substitutes. As in the theory of result of the sacrifice there is plurality of results and plurality of causes and in the ultimate analysis anything can produce anything, similarly according to the substitute theory, ultimately anything can substitute anything. According to the Brāhmaṇas the bandhuta doctrine is underlying all the world and this is the basis of the "spiritualism" and philosophy prominently found in the Upaniṣads. Passingly we have also mentioned some philosophical speculations in the Brāhmaṇas which can be said to be the predecessors of the Upaniṣadic philosophy.

The study of the sacrifice in the Brāhmaṇas would make it clear how the Brāhmaṇa-texts even though they appear "twaddle"-like, are, if carefully and minutely studied can give many glimpses of the religious and philosophical history of India. This study reveals to us how several sacrifices or sacrificial rites have been "elevated" by the Brāhmaṇa-texts with their powerful arthavādas and how they have thus made an important contribution to the ritual by developing the same. They have also tried, to give a firm position to the "elevated" rites and a firmer one to those already established. The

brāhmaṇa-texts have tried to supply side by side an "intellectual" background to the ritual in their own way. The description (rather prescription vidhi) and explanation (arthavāda) portions of the brāhmaṇa-texts have two results - (1) growth of ritualism and (2) growth of spiritualism, thinking, philosophy, etc. The first is mainly reflected in later Kalpa-sūtra literature and the second in the Upanisadic literature.

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